

The Philanthropist.

JAMES G. BIRNEY,

We are verily guilty concerning our brother... therefore, is this distress come upon us.

EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

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SPIRIT OF LIBERTY.

John G. Whittier's Letter to Edward Everett.

TO EDWARD EVERETT, GOV. OF MASSACHUSETTS:—EXERCISING while yet I may, the unsundered right of a free citizen of Massachusetts, with due respect for thy official station, but with the frankness which becomes a republican, I feel myself called upon to address thee, in relation to that portion of thy late message which is devoted to the subject of slavery.

The people of Massachusetts understand very well that their bill of rights annihilated the last vestige of slavery in this commonwealth, and that in adopting the constitution of the United States, this state did not, and could not, by reason of a fundamental article of that bill of rights, give its sanction and authority to slavery, here or elsewhere. They do not dispute thy position that the constitution recognizes slavery—not indeed expressly—but vaguely and by implication. But they cannot admit that it does more than this. They believe that it concedes no right of slavery to the states, for the plain reason that those rights were never in the power of the convention which framed it, to concede or withhold. They existed with the states alone—reserved, undelivered, unsundered. They existed before the constitution, as they now exist, undelivered from, and independent of, that instrument. It was so understood by the convention in this state which adopted the constitution. By a reference to the debates of that convention, it will be seen that the speakers who alluded to the matter of slavery, while many of them regretted that some means could not have been adopted to abolish a system so abhorrent,—never for a moment seem to have supposed that any new "rights and privileges" had been conceded to its supporters in the southern states by the instrument under discussion. On the contrary it was affirmed that the constitution had given the death blow to slavery, and that it would die of consumption, in consequence of the limits which had been set to the foreign slave trade.

For one, I am at a loss to perceive the grounds of thy assertion, that at the formation of the constitution the question of slavery was essentially an open one. The delegates from Georgia, Virginia and the Carolinas, received from their constituents no instructions to leave it "open" to the free action of the convention. Consequently the "Adamses and the Hancockses," whatever may have been their wishes, had no power to act upon any other principle than that of political "forbearance" in relation to it. The constitution did not create the rights of the slaveholder. It simply "left this whole painful subject" where it found it. And I have yet to learn that Massachusetts, in entering into a union with the south, gave her sanction to slavery, or pledged herself to silence on the great question of human rights. This was out of her power. She could not have done it, without first blotting from her own glorious charter those truths, which have proclaimed liberty through all her borders. It had not then become fashionable to sneer at the Declaration of Independence as "a fanfare of abstractions," or "a mere rhetorical flourish," and the reiteration of its doctrine that "all men are born free and equal," in the bill of rights of Massachusetts was regarded as a living and practical reality. Its efficacy had been tested and it stood clothed in the supremacy of the law.

The abandonment of slavery would be nothing more than a practical adoption of the principles of the constitution of this commonwealth, and the declaration of 1776. It is well known that some of the most distinguished signers of that declaration also signed the constitution of the United States. Did they—the men who had declared before God that all men were created free, intend to perpetuate slavery? Did they intend to bequeath it to their latest posterity as an everlasting curse? and to deny themselves and their children even, the privilege of remonstrances against it?

Why then did they not in the preamble of the constitution speak out boldly and plainly to the world:—"To promote the general welfare, insure domestic tranquility, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves, and our posterity, we establish slavery forever!"

Benjamin Franklin signed both the declaration and the constitution. He was one of the most active supporters of "the compact," and was of course, perfectly well acquainted with all its "concessions" and the rights and privileges of slavery.

But he signed another constitution, a few months after endorsing "the compact." It was that of the "Pennsylvania Society for the abolition of slavery," the preamble of which recognizes the doctrines which are maintained by abolitionists of the present day, and expresses the "incendiary" desire of diffusing them "wherever the evils of slavery exist." Of this society Dr. Franklin was elected President, and Dr. Rush, Secretary. In 1790, this society presented to the first Congress, a petition, from which the following is an extract:—

"From a persuasion that equal liberty was originally the portion, and is still the birthright of all men; and influenced by the strong ties of humanity and the principles of their institutions, your memorialists conceive themselves bound to use all justifiable endeavors to loosen the bands of slavery, and promote a general enjoyment of the blessings of freedom. Under these impressions they earnestly entreat your serious attention to the subject of slavery; that you may be pleased to countenance the restoration to liberty of those unhappy men, who alone in a land of freedom are degraded into perpetual bondage, and who amidst the general joy of surrounding freemen, are groaning in servile subjection; that you will devise means for removing this inconsistency from the character of the American people; that you will promote mercy and justice towards this oppressed race; and that you will step to the very verge of the power vested in you, for discouraging every species of traffic in the persons of our fellow men."

Signed, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Pres't. Philadelphia, Feb. 2d, 1790.

George Washington was another signer of the constitution. I know that he was a slaveholder; and I have not forgotten the emotions which swelled my bosom, when in the metropolis of New England, in the cradle of liberty, a degenerate son of

the pilgrims pointed to his portrait which adorns the wall, with the thrice repeated exclamation—"that slaveholder!" I saw the only blot on the otherwise bright and spotless character of the father of his country held up to open view—exposed by remorseless hands to sanction a system of oppression and blood. It seemed to me like sacrilege. I looked upon those venerable and awful features, while the echoes, once awakened in that old Hall by the voice of ancient liberty, warm from the lips of Adams and Hancock and the fiery heart of James Otis, gave back from wall and gallery, the exulting cry of "slaveholder," half expecting to see the still canvasses darken with a frown, and the pictured lips part asunder with words of rebuke and sorrow. I felt it, as did hundreds more, on that occasion, to be a reproach and a cruel insult to the memory of the illustrious dead. Did not the speaker know that the dying testimony of Washington was against slavery?

In a letter to Robert Morris of Philadelphia, himself a signer of the United States constitution, and an uncompromising abolitionist, Washington writes—"I hope it will not be conceived from these observations, that it is my wish to hold the unhappy people, who are the subject of this letter, in slavery. I can only say, that there is not a man living, who wishes more sincerely than I do, to see a plan adopted for the abolition of it; but there is only one proper and effectual mode by which it can be accomplished, and that is by the legislative authority, and this, as far as my suffrage will go, shall not be wanting." (Sparks edition, 9th vol.)

Again, he writes thus to Lafayette—"The benevolence of your heart, my dear Marquis, is so conspicuous on all occasions, that I never wonder at fresh proofs of it; but your late purchase of an estate in the Colony of Cayenne, with a view of emancipating the slaves, is a generous and noble proof of your humanity. Would to God, a like spirit might diffuse itself generally into the minds of the people of this country! But I despair of seeing it. Some petitions were presented to the Assembly at its last session for the abolition of slavery, but they could scarcely obtain a hearing."

Again—to John F. Mercer, September 9th, 1786. "I never mean, unless some particular circumstance should compel me to it, to possess another slave by purchase; it being among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law."

It is well known, that one of the ablest writers in defence of the constitution was JOHN JAY, Chief Justice of the United States. Yet he was a zealous abolitionist—the President of the New York Manumission Society—and the drafter of a petition for emancipation, containing these remarkable words—"Your memorialists are deeply concerned for the condition of those, who, free by the laws of God, are held in slavery by the laws of man."

Hon. Wm. Pinckney in Nov. 1789, thus spoke in the Maryland House of Delegates, of American slavery:—"Founded in a disgraceful traffic, its continuance is as shameful as its origin."—"Eternal infamy awaits the abandoned miscreants, whose selfish souls could ever prompt them to rob unhappy Africa of her sons."—"But wherefore should we confine the edge of censure to our ancestors, or those from whom they purchased? Are we not equally guilty?—They strewed around the seeds of slavery, we cherish and sustain the growth."

I might go on to quote still more to my purpose from the writings of the political fathers of our republic. I leave it to thyself to judge whether the language of Washington, Franklin and Jay, was not calculated "to disturb the relations" of slavery, quite as certainly as that of modern abolitionists, and if so, whether their offence ought not to have been "prosecuted as a misdemeanor at common law."

Abolitionists are attached to the constitution by no common obligation. It is their guardian. The blow which shall compel them to "abstain from discussion" must reach them through the very heart of the constitution. Destroy its guaranty of free discussion and the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition for the redress of grievances, and the very life of that instrument will be lost. The overthrow of slavery will require no change in its provisions. The obnoxious terms of "slave" and "slavery" do not sully it. "The constitution," said John Randolph on the floor of Congress, "is not stained by the mention of slavery, and would to God our consciences were not stained."

They are attached to the constitution, because it places in their hands the lever by which slavery may be overturned. The constitution gives Congress the "power to exercise exclusive jurisdiction in all cases whatsoever, over such district, (not exceeding ten miles square) as may by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States." The jurisdiction of Congress over the District of Columbia, which was obtained for the seat of government under this provision, does not admit of dispute.

Congress has also power by the constitution, "to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states." The slave trade carried on between the states, evidently falls within this provision. It is under this provision that Congress had power to prohibit the foreign slave trade. The constitution in the next section declares that "the migration or importation of such persons, as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by Congress, prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person." This is a declaration of the constitution that, without this exception, Congress under the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, would have had an immediate right to abolish the foreign slave trade. The right to abolish the slave trade between the states follows as clearly from the power to regulate commerce among the states. "The power of regulating commerce extends to every species of commercial intercourse between the United States and foreign nations and among the several states. The power in Congress to regulate commerce is general, and has no limitations but such as are prescribed in the constitution. This power is exclusively vested in Congress."—Dane's Abridgement, vol. 9, pp. 580, 581.

The right of Congress to abolish the domestic traffic is admitted in the Boston Memorial on the Missouri question, signed by Daniel Webster and others. The power is evidently given, but of the expediency of its exercise the people must judge for themselves.

I come now to that portion of thy remarks which of all others seems most reprehensible.—After admitting the repugnance of our people to laws impairing the liberty of speech and of the press, "the patriotism of all classes of citizens is invoked" "to abstain from a discussion" of the subject of slavery. Abstain from discussion!—What more does the holy alliance require!—What more does Gov. McDuffie demand? Is this the age—ours the laws—are the sons of the pilgrims the men—for advice like this?—What!—when the whole world is moved

—when the very foundations of principalities and powers are upheaving with the one great impulse of the age—the irresistible workings of Free Inquiry—is it in Massachusetts over the graves of Adams and Warren and Hancock and Otis, that the spirit of free investigation is to be arrested and stricken dumb? Is it here alone, that truth, which is abroad in the earth, exposing and overturning the lies of ages, is to be put to silence? "Abstain from discussion"—rebuke the active energies of the christian principle—let the liberal pen forget its office—let the liberal press be dumb—blow out the lights of liberty—let half enfranchised Europe question the divinity of kings and the vested rights of slavery,—but let Massachusetts sleep on—a moral Asphaltes,—dead, passionless, silent. Is this the advice of a republican magistrate to a community of freemen? Far fitter is it for the banks of the Bosphorus and the Neva, than those of the Connecticut and the Merrimack. It is not suited to our hard-handed artisans and free farmers. It will be wasted upon them. They see too clearly the peril in which their own liberties are placed by slaveholding encroachment. They have not yet forgotten that the same Message of the Governor of South Carolina, whose demands may be supposed to have called forth the servile adulation of obedience, from our own contained also sentiments in the highest degree insulting to the working people of the north—intimating that they must be either held in check by an aristocracy or reduced to the condition of slaves. They have not passed lightly over the monstrous and despotic doctrines advanced during the present session on the floor of Congress. They have not regarded as a light thing the declaration of a slaveholder in the national councils—a declaration unrebuked by any representative of the north—"That the system of the northern states could not be maintained without creating a third power strong enough to control and keep in subjection the class condemned to labor." They have been insultingly told on all hands, that the "slaves of the south are better off" than themselves—that, consequently, the slaveholder does no wrong in holding the laborer as a slave; and by direct inference, that it could be no sin for the northern capitalists to hold the white northern laborer in complete servitude. They know and feel already the withering influence of slavery upon the reputation of their honest industry—lowering even in the free states the standard of the laborer's respectability, narrowing too, perceptibly, his proper sphere in society, and connecting with his daily employment the degrading associations of southern servitude. They have been branded in the halls of Congress, and in the legislatures of southern states, with the ignominious epithet of "WHITE SLAVES." They have seen the constitution of the United States trampled under the feet of slaveholders, scoffed at as a "blurred and tattered parchment," and the Declaration of Independence pronounced a "flourish of rhetoric" by those who are living down its great principles. They have seen demands gravely made by slaveholding legislatures and governors upon the authorities of free and sovereign states, for the delivery of their fellow-citizens to torture and death; and for the passage of laws against the liberty of speech and of the press. By things like these has the northern laborer been summoned to discussion. By his own rights in jeopardy, by his regard for his children's welfare, by all he owes to his country and his God, he has been called upon to wrestle with the GIANT MONOPOLY OF SLAVERY. Holding with Milton that the liberty to know, to utter, to argue freely is above all other liberties, he cannot consent to "abstain from discussion," even though the advice to do so, come backed by a cautious intimation of "prosecution for misdemeanor," or a revival of the old sedition law.

We are told in thy message, as a reason, why we should abstain from discussion, that it has a tendency to irritate the masters of slaves. Is truth then only to be spoken when falsehood is willing to hear it? Is the right to be advocated only at the pleasure of the wrong? Why then preached the disciple of Gamaliel before the craftsmen of Ephesus? Why, in the stormy day of the reformation did Luther and his followers expose the corruption and fraud of all-grasping Rome? It will irritate the masters!—and why then do our orators, thyself among the number, denounce the old world's tyrants—the Sultan trampling on his dependencies—the Austrian despot and his crafty Metternich chaining Italy above the grave of her ancient liberties—the iron-hearted Nicholas breaking down the last vestige of Poland's nationality? Why send your words of encouragement across the Atlantic to the revolutionists of Belgium—the revolutionists of Paris—the liberals of Spain—the reformers of Great Britain? The caustic and indignant eloquence of Churchill C. Cambreleng, applied to thyself during the discussion of the Panama Question, and in reply to thy memorable eulogium upon southern slavery, is once more applicable.

"Oh star-eyed Science, hast thou wandered there To bring us back that message of despair?" "If sir, in the *Aulæ* of Gottingen—if amidst the wild mysteries of German metaphysics I had imbibed doctrines like these, I would have turned my back forever on my native land. Following the course of the dark-rolling Danube and cutting my way across the Euxine, I would have visited a certain bazaar in the vicinity of Constantinople, and there preached my doctrines amidst the rattling chains of the wretched slaves. Nay, sir, I would have gone further—I would have laid my head upon the footstool of the Sultan, and besought him to place his feet upon my neck, as a recreant citizen of a recent republic."

We are advised to "leave this whole painful subject where the constitution leaves it." This advice comes all too tardily. Slavery is not where it was when the constitution left it. Fifty years ago, it had but six hundred thousand victims: it has now more than two millions. It has sought out new channels—opened new markets. The then unpeopled West is growing with its curses. The plague-spot is stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, covering new states and territories. Would to God it were in reality, where the constitution leaves it, with the states alone. It is in the District of Columbia—the federal city is a great market—it is in the territories of Arkansas and Florida, and it is forcing its way into a government where it has been formally abolished, filling with its abominations the once free province of Texas.

Finally, we are told to leave it in the hands of an all-wise Providence who in His own good time is able to cause it to disappear like the slavery of the ancient world, under the gradual operation of the spirit of christianity. Is it Edward Everett who talks of the disappearance of slavery under the operation of christianity! The same who called down upon himself the rebuke even of conscientious slaveholders, by asserting in his place in Congress, that "slavery, domestic slavery—say what men will of it—is a condition of society as much as any other, consistent with religion and morality." Christian! thy warring against that which is consistent with it!

—Or, are we to infer from this, that the discussion of the subject has effected a change in thy own opinions, and that "slavery, domestic slavery—say what men will of it"—now appears to thee altogether inconsistent with the pure spirit of christianity. If so, let us by no means "abstain from discussion." If it can effect so radical a change in a northern apologist and defender of slavery, may we not hope that it will not be wholly wasted upon the slaveholders themselves?

Yes—slavery is in the hands of Providence, but that Providence often effects the removal of evil, by the visitation of tremendous judgments. Slavery perished in St. Domingo in a storm of fire and blood. It may be so in our own country. The language of Thomas Jefferson is full of prophetic warning. "The hour of emancipation is advancing in the march of time. It must come, and if not brought on by the generous energies of our own minds, it must come by the bloody process of St. Domingo." Again, in speaking of slaves:—"when the measure of their tears shall be full;—when their groans shall have involved Heaven itself in darkness, doubtless a God of justice will awaken in their behalf, and, by diffusing light and liberality among their oppressors, or at length by his exterminating thunder, manifest his attention to the things of this world, and that they are not left to the guidance of a blind fatality." Some presage of "the bloody process of St. Domingo" seems to have occurred to thy own mind, when on the occasion before referred to, thy readiness was avowed to buckle on the knapsack, and fight not the battles of liberty, but those of slavery, against its miserable victims, goaded to insurrection by "a bondage, one hour of which" to use again the words of Jefferson, "is more intolerable than ages of the oppression" which our fathers rose in rebellion to oppose.

The right of freely discussing any and every subject under heaven, is not a thing to be surrendered. To talk of yielding it now, as a sacrifice to patriotism, is most manifest absurdity. It would be the immolation of the goddess on her own altar. Yielding this right, we should have nothing left. The silence and the night of a dumb and unnatural despotism would settle over us. We might retain indeed the name of a republic! but, would the name alone avail us? Venice was a republic, glorious among the nations which beheld her from afar—a sepulchre within. With her, the inalienable rights of man were utterly sacrificed to the fancied welfare of the republic—a vague abstraction of national interest apart from the happiness of the individual—a soulless phantom of the honor and the glory of the state. The great mass of her people—the men who built up her "city of palaces" and mingled their blood with the Mediterranean, in a hundred sea fights—crushed under the heel of an iron aristocracy, dared not even speak of the councils of the state; and the government under which they toiled and bled, was to them like the god of the Athenians, a thing to be blindly revered, but whose attributes were unknown. No—there exists no state necessity so imperative as to require the sacrifice of the in-born rights of the people. No compact—no confederation—no commercial nor political advantages can atone for an offering so perfectly suicidal. The true glory and interest of a nation consist in the secure and free exercise on the part of each individual of his natural rights, the humblest as well as the proudest. And never—never can that glory be permanent, nor that interest real, which is purchased by the violation or the surrender of those rights.

The subject of slavery is now, owing, in a great measure, to the violence of the enemies of emancipation, fully before the people. Executive enactments against the liberty of speech and of the press, cannot. Before God and the world, every man not ignorant of, nor blind to his own rights and duties as an accountable being, will hold the latter, if attempted, as utterly null and void. No proof whatever has been adduced to show, that the efforts of the abolitionists have occasioned any new uneasiness in the minds of the slaves. They have addressed their arguments and appeals to the masters alone. And, if the masters, smitten with the insanity which precedes destruction, from culpable and wilful ignorance of the facts, or for the advancement of sectional party purposes, from a hatred of northern politicians, or from a jealousy of northern prosperity—are publishing in all their local papers and scattering through every village and plantation—and shouting from every Court House hustings, and in the bar-room of every steam-boat, and tavern, and whisky shop of the slave states, the atrocious and exciting calumny, that the entire north is swarming with assassins—men ready to join the slaves in midnight insurrection and promiscuous murder—thereby offering to their millions in servitude the strongest possible incentive to rebellion—upon themselves alone rests the awful responsibility of the consequences of such guilt, and madness. To the constitution and its guaranty of personal, as well as state rights,—to the calm investigation and deliberate scrutiny of the virtuous and the just—to the every day observation of their walk in life—to the deep stake which they have in common with their fellow citizens, in the general prosperity—and above all, to the sacred test of the Holy Scriptures, the abolitionists appeal. But they cannot abstain from discussion. The imploring voice of two millions of their countrymen in slavery comes constantly to their ears. The dead fathers of the republic speak to them from their graves. "I honor," said Patrick Henry, "the noble effort to abolish slavery. It is equally calculated to promote moral and political good. I EXHORT YOU TO PERSEVERE. It is a debt we owe to the purity of our religion, to show, that it is at variance with that law which warrants slavery." "This enterprise (the abolition of slavery) said Thomas Jefferson, "is for the young, for those who can follow it up, and bear it through to its consummation. It shall have all my prayers, and those are the only weapons of an old man." The voices of the friends of liberty in France and Germany and England, come to us across the waters, imploring us to remove the curse of slavery from our midst, and give no longer to the aristocracy and despotism of Europe an argument against popular institutions, founded on the dreadful inconsistency which we are exhibiting to the world, of the extremes of liberty and tyranny, combined in the same government. Thus urged to action we cannot yield "the home bred right of free discussion" to the threats of slaveholders, or the demands of interested politicians. We can neither permit the gag to be thrust in our mouths by others, nor deem it the part of "patriotism" to place it there ourselves. The more fiercely our rights are assailed, the closer will we hold them to our hearts, believing as we do, that the very existence of our country—the cause of human freedom abroad, and the welfare of the white man as well as the black man at home, depend, under God, mainly upon their preservation and untrammelled exercise.

Thy friend and fellow-citizen,
JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Extract,

FROM MR. GARRISON'S LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, HELD AT PROVIDENCE, R. I. Feb., 2, 1836.

AND what have our enemies to present as the evidence of their success? Why, for every score of societies that we have formed, they can produce a riot in their favor. For every speech that we have made in favor of liberty, they can show a brickbat, or a rotten egg, or a bludgeon, or a dagger, used in support of oppression. For every petition that we have put up to the throne of Mercy, they can adduce a sneer, a threat, or a malediction. And we are discomfited, forsooth! This is the general proclamation. Then is victory discomfited; then is continual success continual defeat; then is the rise of the tide its ebb; then is the sun near its meridian waning below the horizon! Of what, then, are we confident? Why, that truth is more than a match for Falsehood, and that liberty is mightier than Oppression. Of what do we boast? Of our own strength and prowess! No. But of the certain progress of humanity—the wide regeneration of public sentiment by that "foolishness of preaching," which is yet to bring down principalities and powers,—to emancipate a groaning world from the bondage of sin,—and to bring people of every kindred, tribe and nation, into the glorious liberty of the sons of God. Who are witnesses of the mighty conflict in which we are engaged? All heaven and earth! What is our Statute Book! The Bible! Who is our leader? Not one on earth—but one in heaven—Jehovah of Hosts!—Therefore, we will "give unto the Lord the glory due unto his name!"

But to the object of your Convention. It is not a foreign, nor a local, nor a partial object. It is fraught with more than Grecian or Polish interest. It is emphatically a NATIONAL object, around which are clustering momentous consequences,—universal results. It is to emancipate two millions and a half of our own countrymen from a domestic tyranny, incomparably more dreadful than that which caused all Egypt to be filled with plagues, and Pharaoh and his host be destroyed in the Red Sea. It is to save a million of the gentler sex from pollution, field labor, and the lash. It is to put an end to an impure and disgraceful amalgamation. It is to restore the stolen babe to the arms of its frantic mother, and to reunite all the sundered ties of life. It is to suppress cruelty, stop the effusion of blood, undo the heavy burden, enlighten ignorance, destroy the cause of insurrection, abolish heathenism, place our entire population under equal laws, and suffer none to stand beyond the pale of the constitution. It is to save, enrich and bless the south, by substituting two millions of free laborers, animated by the hope of reward and the prospect of happiness, in the place of 2,000,000 of cattle, goaded to madness by torture. It is to avert the overshadowing judgments of Almighty God from our nation, by a timely repentance. It is to rescue as many new victims of slavery in this country, annually, as are stolen from Africa by all the kidnappers in the world. It is to make theory and the practice of the American people harmonious and perfect in righteousness, so that we may no longer be a proverb, a hissing and an astonishment in the earth, nor be accessory to the despotisms of the old world, nor be guilty of the awful crime of self-murder. In fine, there is no interest of man which appertains to his intellect, his soul, his well-being—to time or eternity,—which it does not seek to advance; no reverence for God and his commandments which it does not studiously consult. Was ever a struggle like this!

Yet more. In one half of our country, we who abhor slavery, and are known to desire emancipation, cannot travel without perilling our property—SAFETY—LIVES! Yes—from one half of our boasted union, we are excluded by the establishment of lynch law—by the prevalence of as murderous a spirit as reigned during the bloody supremacy of French Jacobinism! As safely may the liberty loving Greeks go to Constantinople, as any of us to Charleston or New Orleans! It is, then, the object of your convention to recover the lost, invaluable right of locomotion, without hindrance or danger, in all parts of our country, for ourselves and our posterity—to knock off those shackles from our feet which now cripple and confine us—and to make every nook and corner of our native territory accessible to all.

Again. It is to rescue THE LIBERTY OF SPEECH from the grasp of that oppression, which now holds millions of our colored countrymen by their throats; a liberty which is becoming more and more abridged, for which GAGS and PADLOCKS are now recommended, without which men are abject as brutes, and in defence of which our fathers poured out their blood like water. Until our tongues are cut out, we will not cease to speak freely—our voices shall be heard loud as a thousand thunders, against the enslavement of our species—against their enslavers.

Again. It is to prevent the establishment of a despotic CENSORSHIP OF THE PRESS which is now strenuously advocated even by those high in authority among us. What is a free press but the palladium of our rights? For whom is it desirable?—For ourselves—our country—the whole world. When is it desirable? To-day—to-morrow—now—in this age—in all ages. How much is it worth! More than argosies of gold—as much as life itself. What shall wrest it from us? No mobs—no penal enactments—no bodily suffering—no confiscations—nothing but that which puts an end to our earthly existence. We will submit to taunts, calumnies, insults, outrages, tortures; but to a censorship of the press, especially on the subject of slavery, WE WILL NOT SUBMIT—not if a gibbet is erected for us on the corner of every street, and the fires of martyrdom blaze in every square.

Finally. It is to save the friends of universal liberty—ourselves from a bloody extermination. Let the eight hundred and fifty persons who signed the call of your convention—and all who shall attend the convention—and all who hold that every yoke ought instantly to be broken—remember that the south demands, in case of the failure of all other means, that they shall be "PUT TO DEATH WITHOUT BENEFIT OF CLERGY." The spirit of southern slavery is a spirit of EXTERMINATION against all those who dare to represent it as a dishonor to our country, rebellion against God, and treason against the liberties of mankind. Now, therefore, that it has come to this; now that the alternative which slavery presents to us is, either to consent to be gagged or to be suspended upon a gallows—we shall carry on the warfare against it as men who realize that upon the security, union and success of our efforts depend the security of our freedoms, the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, the preservation of our lives, the salvation of our country. As christian warriors, whose weapons are not carnal but spiritual, from man to man, and from rank to rank, the interrogation shall pass—

"Who would be a traitor-knave!
Who would fill a coward's grave!
Who so base would be a slave!
Let him turn and flee!"

Excuse the length of this epistle—for a slaveholder (Gov. Hayne) tells us, in the language of Burke, "you must pardon something to the spirit of liberty"—and when so grand and awful a theme as liberty excites my mind, I know not when nor where to pause. We have already been called to suffer something in this cause—we shall unquestionably be tried more severely. O, may the spirit of retaliation, and all passion and violence, be removed from our hearts; and may we have Christ so formed within us as to be enabled to return good for evil, and blessing for cursing, in all cases, under the most grievous provocation. I believe we are willing that our blood should be shed rather than that of the slaveholders. I am sure we all deprecate insurrection among the slaves, and desire that they may be obedient to their masters, as unto God, and patiently wait for a peaceful deliverance through the omnipotence of truth. We are stigmatized as fanatics, but our fanaticism is all embodied in the following lines of Cowper. Each one of us exclaims with him—

"I would not have a slave to till my ground,
To carry me—to fan me while I sleep,
And tremble when I wake, for all the wealth
That sinews, thought and sold have ever earned:
No—dear as freedom is, and in my heart's
Just estimation prized above all price,
I had much rather be myself the slave,
And wear the bonds, than fasten them on him."

This is the spirit of Cowper. It is the spirit of Jesus Christ. It is, I trust, the spirit which animates us all, and which we desire to see reign in every breast, at the north and the south, in this and in all other lands, now and evermore. It is immediate emancipation.

Your devoted fellow-laborer,
WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

COMMUNICATIONS.

A Sermon,

Preached, June, 1835,

In St. Philip's Church, Circleville:

FROM JOB XXIX. 16.

BY R. V. ROGERS, RECTOR.

[Published by request of the Executive Committee of the Pickaway county Anti-Slavery Society. Profits to be devoted to the circulation of Anti-Slavery Tracts, &c., within the county.]

I was a father to the poor; and the cause which I knew not, I searched out. Job xxix. 16.

Thus Job speaks, continuing to exculpate his character from the unjust charges of his friends, as he stood in relation to his God, and his neighbor. Nor must we consider this as the language of vain boasting, but the truth, guaranteed, as it is, by God himself, accepting Job and condemning Eliphaz and his two friends. My object is not to consider the character of the man of Uz, further than is involved in the language of our text: exhibiting as it does, so much of his moral character as relates to suffering humanity. He thus speaks of it: "I delivered the poor that cried," &c. 12, 13. "I was eyes to the blind," &c. vs. 15, 16, 17.

The first point to be noticed is, his care for the widow and orphan. When oppressed, he delivered them—"brake the jaws of the wicked and plucked the spoil out of his teeth," (v. 17.) The method taken is not stated, but whatever it may have been, it was effectual. The oppressor's condition in society, whether a prince or a noble, was no bar to immediate effort—he respected no man's person. "Was he an oppressor?"—that alone was the question. At once his spoil was plucked from his teeth. Nor did it require petition, after petition, containing arguments, strong and forcible as demonstration, to move him to act; but when the poor cried, then he was delivered. He acted not from the constraint of continued weeping, but from the impulse of duty, in imitation of God, who reveals himself, as a "father of the fatherless, and a judge of the widows," even "in his holy habitation."—Ps. lxxviii. 5.

Thus promptly, and energetically, acting, he waited not, till the cause of the oppressed had become popular,—had gained many friends: but his language would imply, that at times, he alone was the friend and avenger of him who was ready to perish.

"I delivered the poor," &c. This God-like sympathy and compassion was also equally exercised, when he himself was the supposed aggressor, "he did not despise the cause of his man-servant," &c. vs. 31, 33: "he withheld not the poor from his desire," &c., v. 16. In one word, the regard of Job for suffering, whenever found, is implied in the words from v. 11, to v. 23.

It should be observed further, that this general care and regard, was not confined to cases of distress, which came under his own eyes, thus obtruding themselves on his attention, but "the cause which (he) knew not (that, he) searched out,"—inquired diligently respecting its particulars, and this, not for vain curiosity, not from the desire of the busy-body, in other men's matters, but in order to carry into practice, in all its branches, the character he assumes of a "father to the poor," "I was a father," &c. It would seem from the closeness in which these two parts of the verse stand, that the latter is explanatory of the former, thus—"I was a father to the poor"—"the helpless." (Sep.) In what way did he show his paternal care for them?—by thoroughly investigating, as the word implies, and thus searching out any supposed case of distress. That philanthropic indolence, the creature of impulse and feeling, only, was not the parent of Job's conduct; the cause of action was far more deeply seated. It was not the gurgling brook, which proclaims, as it passes along, all the good it is doing, and is soon stopped by the chilling frost, or the summer's sun; but it was the mighty river, the silent, yet sure producer of unnumbered blessings. The language used conveys this idea. Must it not be supposed, that in such investigations, difficulties of no common kind would oppose themselves? Much time must be consumed; and even money expended. Add to this the odium he would have to encounter, in lifting these poor from the dust, these helpless from the mire, into which, their oppressors had cast them. What reproachful epithets would be heaped upon him, by the self-interested, and their thoughtless echoes! Yet these darts, however fiery and venomous, were all turned aside by the shield of conscientious duty, (it was the cause of the poor and fatherless in which he was engaged, a cause peculiarly the Lord's,) and therefore said Job, "I put on righteousness, and it clothed me," (44.) "I was a father to the poor," &c.

A question here arises—Is the character of Job such as Christians should imitate?

In answer, it must be said, that "whatsoever was written aforetime, was written for our learning," and therefore, whatever points in this history are lovely, of good report, and agreeable with the revealed will of God, are for our example. Further—"There is nothing in the history of Job, which should have made that duty to him, which is not so, equally, to us. I am aware it has been said, that was a king, or an inferior magistrate, and that the discharge of these duties were official. He may have been either; but I can find no conclusive evidence of it. At any rate, the duties already mentioned as practised by this good and upright man, are such as the Bible commands all who receive it as God's revelation, to practice. This I proceed to prove, by showing, that there are duties in which Jehovah takes special delight; and that Christians are called upon to imitate him in all that is imitable; and, moreover, that the practice of these is the very life and soul and spirit of our religion; consequently, that the practice of Job, is the practice of every consistent imitator of Christ.

Thus the Holy Ghost, speaking by the mouth of David, addresses the sacred three—"Lord, thou hast heard the desire of the humble, thou wilt prepare, (establish) their heart," &c. Ps. x. 17, 18. At exlvi. v. 9,—it is said "the Lord preserveth the strangers; he relieveth the fatherless and widow," lxxviii. 5. "A father to the fatherless," &c., Deut. x. 17, 18. The ancient people are addressed—"The Lord your God, is God of gods, Lord of lords," &c., which regardeth not persons—he doth execute the judgment of the fatherless and widow, and loveth the stranger," &c.; and on this account, adds—"Love you therefore the stranger." In perfect consistency, He threatens oppressors with his severest displeasure. Ex. xxii. 22. He thus speaks: ye shall not afflict, &c.—"If thou afflict them in anywise, and they cry all unto me, I will surely hear their cry; and my wrath shall wax hot; and I will kill you with the sword," &c. "No penalty was enjoined to be inflicted by the magistrates, on those who oppressed the stranger, the widow, and the orphan, unless some violation of other statutes, could be proved: because the Lord himself undertook to avenge their cause, by a just retaliation on the oppressors and their families,"—Scott. It would appear then, as if the cause were too sacred for any but divinity itself.—"I will," &c. yes! and the history of oppressors, is a fearful comment on this truth, written, not with pen and ink, but in letters of blood—a tale of weeping lamentation and woe:—witness the oppressors of God's ancient people, and the people themselves, when become oppressors!

We should notice, that when God styles himself a "judge of the widows," that he conveys the idea of impartial, patient, diligent, investigation, (characteristics these of a just judge.) The character of the oppressor, in all other respects—his exalted station—his learning, talents, supposed piety—these will not turn the beam of justice in his favor, when he is weighed in the balance of the sanctuary.—Nor the condition of the oppressed, his degradation, the peculiar circumstances in which the oppressor found him, be any bar to relief, immediate and complete. The points in the investigation of the unerring Judge will be—can the crime of oppression, be proved in the cry of the oppressed? if so, no plea will be admitted in excuse or mitigation of punishment. "If those afflict them in any wise," &c., "I will surely hear their cry," &c.

Thus we have seen that Jehovah's conduct, in reference to the points under consideration, is that of which Job was an humble, though faithful imitator. Both master and servant are seen—as "fathers to the poor," &c.

Having shown that the duties already specified in the character of Job, are they, which, to Jehovah are peculiarly dear; I proceed to show, that Christians are commanded to imitate him in all his imitable perfections, when it is said as in Ephesians, v. 1, "Be ye therefore followers," or as the word literally rendered means, imitators, mimics.—"Be," &c., "as dear children."

The absolute duty of such an imitation will appear, if it be considered, that by so doing Christians bear witness to the genuineness of their descent. Thus our Saviour speaks, "Love your enemies," &c. Why? "That ye may be," (that ye may show your title to be) "the children of your Father," &c. Mat. v. 44, 5. Again—"Be ye kind one to another, tender hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you," Eph. iv. 32. Hence we conclude, that to be a follower of God—humbly imitating him in "loving our enemies," &c., and in every point in which the creature can follow the footsteps of the Creator, is the surest test of the professed Christian being a real child of God. Did I say the surest, I must add, the only sure, and safe touchstone. Here permit me to draw your attention to the points under consideration—Jehovah's care and regard for the poor and the oppressed; his patient attention to their cry; his speedy and decided deliverance; and punishment of the impenitent oppressor. Think of these, and then inquire, whether they are not within the power of men to imitate, and if so, it is duty to imitate, has, already, been proved. Let us see. Cannot every man, however humble his station, limited his means, or slender his mental capacity, track the footsteps of Almighty love in care for the widow and the orphan—mingling his tears with theirs, sympathizing with their sufferings, thus uniting in bearing their heavy burdens; can he not "remember those who are in adversity," in his prayers, his labors, his exertions? Has he little influence, and is he not as responsible, as the man for his one talent? Let him cast in his mite into the treasury of united influence; and what would have been an insurmountable obstacle to his, puny, individual, and alone will, before that of concentrated public opinion, be as the chaff of the summer threshing-floor, before the blasts of a winter storm!

True!—the subject of suffering, may be so low, so forlorn, as to have no eye to pity; no arm to help. Can any be so degraded, so far below the reach of relief, as that Jehovah's arm is shorter than it cannot save? Is the cry of distress so feeble, so stifled, and born down by prejudice?

Has it to pass through an atmosphere, so dense with palliatives for the oppressor, that it cannot reach the ear of the Lord of Sabaoth? Impossible. This would be at once to place a limit to the power of the Omnipotent, and the all-wise. No! "The Lord's ear is not heavy," &c. &c. That ear, too, is the ear of justice, which respecteth no man's person,—that ear, ever open to the prayer of the fatherless and him that hath no helper.

But,—in what way does Jehovah relieve the oppressed;—case the widow's heart, and dry up the orphan's tears? By a miracle! Yes! He has by a miracle—I remember a case recorded for our admonition, when, He thus speaks:—"I have surely seen the affliction

of my people, which are in Egypt," &c., "I am come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians," (Ex. iii. 7, 8.) But usually he comes not thus from his place; bares his arm, and bathes his sword in the oppressors destruction, till human instrumentality fail; and then, as in the case before us, he acts like an avenging God,—takes not the cup of his indignation from the guilty lips, till they have drunk its very dregs. Generally, he works deliverance in the earth, by man's arm. (Do not Americans speak this language in reference to their deliverance from what was deemed oppression?) Like some able general, He summonses to his aid, the whole host of mind. This he trains and disciplines,—draws from resources himself has filled, the needed strength,—places us under his own guidance, and howbeit they may not mean or think so,—yet are men but the executioners of his will, the servants that do his bidding.

Such being the usual order of Jehovah's providence, would we imitate him in the particulars already mentioned, ours must be united effort. If to follow him in being a father to all the fatherless, the poor, and those who have none to help, be a duty beyond the ability of individual effort; then, must individual means, whether mental, physical, or pecuniary, be as so many members, united to form a body; that body must be the receptacle of a spirit, breathed into existence by united prayer; then made a living spirit, it shall go forth like a giant to run his course, or a mighty man refreshed with wine. Before it, obstacles will be as the mists of morning, vanishing before the rays of the rising sun, from whose scorching influence, nothing shall remain hidden and unaffected.

But we hasten to consider—why the practice of Job should be the practice of every Christian, viz:—

That this is the very epitome of our holy religion. "Pure religion and undefiled," &c., is, together with "keeping ourselves unspotted from the world," "to visit the fatherless," &c. Jas. i. 27. Whilst to oppress the poor, is to reproach his Maker; to have mercy on the poor, is to give Him honor. (Prov. xiv. 31); and he who should "see his brother or sister in need and shut up his bowels of compassion from him," might well provoke the question—"How dwelleth the love of God in him?" How indeed! whilst we are assured, that he who should say I love God, and yet be doing him wrong, (i. e. not loving,) his brother, would prove himself according to the assertions of unerring wisdom, "A LIAR!" Yes! He would be a vain pretender to that, to which he has no claim, for he who loveth God, loveth his brother also! "The righteous (Prov. xxix. 7.) considereth the cause of the poor, but the wicked regardeth not to know it."

See to it then—my brethren. Are you visiting the abodes of misery and want, yourselves, when within your sphere, when without the range, by your means, your influence, your prayers? Are you causing the widow's heart to leap for joy? Are you loving your brother, your brother of every clime, of every color? Do the poor find in you an ear to listen, and a hand to relieve? If it be so, your religion is pure! In your bosom dwells the love of God: but if otherwise, if the poor meet your contempt; if when he cry, you hear him not, you heed him not, then I leave the answer with you, "How dwelleth the love of God in you?" Far be it from me to judge you, but I pray you, judge ye your own selves.

And consider, brethren,—the kind of poor, thus to claim your pity, your interest, your aid, is not marked. The circle, within which your sympathies are to range, is not geographically described. No! but they are to take the wings of the morning, and swift as light, carry glad tidings to, and embrace in the arms of christian love, the inhabitants of every country under heaven. When the widow, broken-hearted and forlorn—pour into the mind diseased, the balm of consolation. Is there one with a skin, perhaps, not colored like their own? Do you see those hands weak and powerless, stretched out for thy relief? Do you refuse to deliver? Do you refuse to do what you can? O! tell me, can you expect a blessing from the widow's and orphan's God? Are you now a follower of Him who is "the father of the fatherless?" &c.

Hark! do you hear the shriek?—It is the cry of mad despair, borne on the southern breeze—of one, widowed indeed—not by the hand of God, but by the ruthless power of avarice. Or it may be, the maniac cry of some fond mother, robbed of her little ones, not by death,—this would be comparative joy—but by law, framed, and executed by men called Christians. Or, perhaps, it was the groans of agonized humanity, writhing under the tortures of despotism.—Is this no field for christian sympathy—for christian energy? Are there no widows to protect—no orphans to cherish here?

But it may be, that you excuse yourselves from doing your duty in this respect by pleading other duties,—equally important, say you. Suffer me to inquire, can any christian duties be found with clashing interests? There is a time for each, and none are to be neglected! And tell me, what duties so important, as they which are the life of, nay, whose practice forms, religion itself?

Believe me!—There is a beautiful symmetry in christian duties. Each rising from, depending on, and merged in each. Like the various members of the body, they form one; though each be separate and distinct. The practice of one, so free from impeding, assists the others by circulating christian principles throughout; just as the exercise of one limb in the human body, benefits all by tending to increase a healthy circulation of the blood.

It may be said, I knew it not to be my duty. You are a Christian; religion is your practice; then to such individual, the spirit of Christ must dwell in you, that spirit which led him to search out the sons and daughters of affliction: and your religion to be pure, must be to "visit," &c. See yet further:—has not Wisdom already anticipated and answered your plea? "If thou sayest, behold we knew it not; doth not he that pondereth the heart consider it?" &c. Prov. xxiv. 12. Does not God teach us—that "if any man knows his neighbor is in danger of losing his life, by false accusation, or a malicious prosecution, or in any other way; he is bound to do all in his power to deliver him. But if self-love, indolence, cowardice, or reluctance to incur expense, or inconvenience, induce him to neglect his duty; he will be deemed an accessory to the crime: and it will be in vain for him to say that he was not fully acquainted with the matter, or aware of the danger,—that it was none of his business, and he knew not how to prevent it; for the Lord sees through such fallacious excuses, and will expose them." [See Scott, on Prov. xxiv. 11, 12.] Listen to the language; and follow the example of the man of Uz—"the cause which I knew not, I searched out." Yes! look at his conduct, of which, Job's was the mere reflection—"he went about doing good."

Dear brethren!—Is it come to this,—that I must apologise for thus preaching on a subject so vexed, and involving, as we are told, so many interests; and requiring such deep investigation, before a righteous decision can be given? Alas! such is the state of the christian church, that men, courageous for the truth on all other points, tremble before this. This, whose vast importance is commensurate with the happiness, temporal and eternal, of more than two millions of our fellow-creatures; and yet cannot be accurately known till the day when all shall "see eye to eye." Surely!—its vast importance is a most powerful argument for its discussion; and who shall take the lead, if not the ministers of the church? Was it not an established position, in the church of former years—that the priest's lips should keep knowledge; and that they (the people) should seek the law at his mouth? ("Mal. ii. 7.") And I know not by what authority it has been annihilated—still "he is," as much as ever, "the messenger of the Lord of hosts."

It is objected—This is a political question, and comes not within the province of the christian minister's preaching. It may have its political bearings, but does it in any way affect morals?—Are the effects of slavery on the immortal destinies of our colored brethren—palsying the energies of the mind—shutting it out from the light of divine truth, except it come through "oral teaching," and that feebly, and but partial!—What! are the effects of slavery on the social relations—severing those ties which God has joined together? Are these to be considered no legitimate topics for the teaching of the ambassador of Christ?

What!—May not the christian minister preach against that which is the natural parent of "all inordinate and sinful affections;"—the insatiable tomb of morals—the constant provocator of lust?

O! if slavery—its nature—accompaniments—consequences, be not within the range of morals—then farewell to missionary effort. Call home the ambassadors of the cross! Stop, at once, the christian press, teeming as it does, with the horrors of heathenism: for, surely, if slavery be forbidden ground—for christian effort, to be consistent—expose not the secrets of Hindooism—meddle not with the ear of Juggernaut, since heathenism cannot unfold a darker tale; the idol ear cannot be more blood-stained! In conclusion.—Suffer me to pray that no presumptuous expediency—attempts to explore the secrets of God's dealings;—no base "fear of man"—setting aside the fear of God—"may ever be the motive of, or hindrance to duty. Take for your guide, the unvarying word of God, teaching, as it does—by precept, by example, what true religion is—that religion, which, like its divine author, is "the same yesterday, to day, and for ever;"—that religion, whose essence is love to all without respect of persons, or country, or color.

That you may ever be living epistles, known and read of all men, is your pastor's unceasing prayer.—Amen.

Ohio Anti-Slavery Annual Meeting.

The Executive Committee of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society give notice, that the annual meeting of said society will be held at Granville, on Wednesday, the 27th April next.

All local Anti-Slavery Societies in this state, whether auxiliary or not, are requested to send delegates.

On their arrival at Granville, delegates will have places assigned them, by calling on Doct. W. W. Baneroff.

The Executive Committee most earnestly request ALL local societies, who have not reported, to do so, immediately, giving,—

1st. Name of Society, date of organization, and members.

2d. Names of Secretary, President, and their post-office direction.

3d. Number of Anti-Slavery publications circulated, and other matters of general interest to the cause.

The committee also suggest to the local Societies, the propriety of their becoming auxiliary to the state Society.

They think too, that the time has fully come, when Ohio should not only furnish the means for carrying forward the cause at home, but should aid the parent Society, who have heretofore defrayed the whole expense of agencies in this state. It is therefore recommended, that delegates be instructed, as to the amount, which their respective Societies are willing to give in aid of the State Society's operations the ensuing year.

By order of the Executive Committee,

LEVI WHIPPLE, Chairman.

A. A. GUTHRIE, Cor. Sec. O. A. S. S.

Patnam, March 7th, 1836.

All papers friendly to the cause of emancipation, it is trusted, will give the above a few insertions.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

NEW RICHMOND, OHIO, MARCH 18, 1836.

The Cincinnati Preamble and Resolutions.

NUMBER V.

To JOHN C. WRIGHT, Esq.—

It is reasonable to suppose, that one, like you, gifted naturally with strong powers of mind, and having them practised to accuracy by long professional training, would have been careful to impress its characteristics on any production intended to achieve for its author, high distinction. You had advantages, too, of no mean value, over those who had preceded you in assailing, by means of popular meetings and resolutions, the liberties of the free states, and of demonstrating an overgrown regard for slaveholders, and the peculiar institution to which our opponents seemed prepared to make one final holocaust of everything that has been deemed essential to freedom. Their errors and absurdities had been pointed out and exposed. In this last and crowning oblation to propitiate the bloody god of Slavery, you ought not again to have repeated them. Especially, too, when it is remembered, you had all the benefit to be derived from such calm and intelligent coadjutors as Gen. Lytle and Col. Hale, it leaves you, sir, without excuse for having committed the same blunders that have rendered not only ridiculous, but despicable, the "Preamble and Resolution" efforts of your pro-slavery forerunners.

I will consider some of them as they are expressed in these words:—

"Resolved, That the nature and tendency of abolition societies, and the conduct of certain persons connected with them, are at variance with the federal compact,

and the mutual obligations of the states united thereby; and if not treasonable, are highly revolutionary in their tendencies, and ought to be discontinued by all good and patriotic citizens," &c.

Now what you mean by the "nature and tendency of abolition societies," is not at all explained. Were I to delineate their "nature"—or at least, so much of it as constitutes a peculiarity—I would say, it was an intelligent love of liberty as it was intended to be established by our revolutionary ancestors, and as it is embodied in the Declaration of Independence, which proclaims that, all men are created equal, and have rights that are inalienable to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Their "tendency" I should say, was to banish every practice inconsistent with this proclamation of political righteousness, and to fix forever this UTOPIA on the broad and immovable basis of eternal justice. If this be a correct delineation of the "nature and tendency of abolition societies," there can be in them nothing to which a republican ought to object. Even you, sir, will not say, that when practices, hostile to the principles of liberty, spring up among us—when they openly menace those principles, declaring that their own life is to be made secure, only by their utter overthrow—even you, I say, cannot be so blinded by your regard for slavery as, formally and explicitly to declare, that the practices shall live though every principle of liberty should perish.

What do you mean when you resolve "that the nature and tendency of abolition societies, and the conduct of certain persons connected with them, are at variance with the federal compact, and the mutual obligation of the states united thereby?" An unsophisticated mind would conclude that "variance with the federal compact" means opposition to the constitution—the supreme law—of the country, as it exists. Now if our societies are acting in opposition to constitutions and laws, we are acting unconstitutionally—illegally—and therefore are proper subjects for the penalties and punishments by which such actions ought to be visited. I do not intend that you—*you*, who know what you are about, and understand the proper use of language, shall evade me by the vagueness and generality of your charges. Is it, then, in opposition to the constitutions of the United States or of Ohio, for citizens to assemble together to discuss any subject—to write and print on any subject—to persuade their neighbors to cease from a cruelty that makes present millions mourn—that menaces their own liberty and happiness, and the liberty and happiness of their children—is any of this at "variance with the federal compact"? If it is, take us up—and doubtless, if this be the law, public sentiment will well sustain you in inflicting its heaviest punishments on the transgressors. If the law declares that abolitionists ought to be hanged, there will, doubtless, be no want of executioners to carry its sentence into effect.

Is it "at variance with the federal compact," that abolitionists should use the public mail, to expostulate with their countrymen who are oppressors, that they cease from an iniquity which will, if persisted in, overwhelm them in ruin? If it be, arrest them and punish or restrain them by the laws the land made to carry this compact into effect. Is it "at variance with the federal compact," that abolitionists should persuade the south to abandon a system which will soon call on the free states to maintain a standing army of One Hundred Thousand Men to support it—to surrender the aristocratic advantage they obtained at the adoption of the constitution, by which they have their property represented in the councils of the nation—to repent and forsake,—while there is time,—a system replete with individual suffering and pollution—a system which opposes its brazen front to the ALMIGHTY, and defies the curse and the overthrow and the perdition, with which Eternal Justice has visited every people who have been deaf to its admonitions? If this be unconstitutional—illegal,—if you and the crowd who are with you, have in the name of the country and its laws, a matter against the abolitionists,—the courts are open, and there are judges.

What mean you, Mr. Wright, by saying, "the nature and tendency of abolition societies" are "not treasonable, are highly revolutionary in their tendencies"? Do you intend to convey the idea that the revolution we contemplate—though not punishable, is equally as hateful as treason? Do you aim at us an insidious blow, by which we are to be as fully struck down for an innocent act, as if we were guilty of the most heinous and illegal? You well know, sir, that a revolution is often desirable. You are now attempting a revolution in this state and throughout the union. With all your individual strength,—with all the influence of associated powers, you are trying to revolutionize Ohio, and bring her to act according to your views in her political movements. In this, who blames you, if you strive lawfully? But suppose, the party against whom aim you are directing your efforts, were to hold a meeting and publish resolutions branding you with "highly revolutionary if not treasonable" objects,—what would you think of its magnanimity—nay, of its justice? Would you not say that they had knowingly and deliberately arrayed you; and would you not feel for them the detestation which such a course would merit? Yet you have so acted toward the abolitionists.

Very true it is, we desire a reformation—a revolution, though not as you wished it to be understood—in public sentiment. We desire to see this nation—(not excluding the slaveholders)—as one man, hating iniquity and loving justice; healing the stripes and wounds of our poor brethren left wounded and half dead, by pouring in the oil and wine of love and gladness, and by exalting ourselves to Heaven,—not so much by the abundance of our privileges, as by the blessed and righteous and God-like use we make of them. This is our revolution: from wrong to righteousness—from cruelty to mercy—from iniquity to justice—from pollution to purity—from the deadness of despair to the animation of hope—from the shriek of agony to the exclamations of joy—from tears of blood to tears of thanksgiving—from the gloom and alienation and perdition of sin, to the delights and harmony and salvation of penitence.

You are a lawyer, sir—is this a revolution that trends on the heels of treason? You are a man—is this a revolution from which you can withhold, Amen? This is our revolution—and one which, if the power of God's truth fall not—and his blessing be not withheld from those who fear him—we will accomplish.

From the Journal and Luminary.

LANE SEMINARY.—Some abolitionists have written a sneering article against this institution in the Boston Liberator. Whatever some ultraists of the day may think, the friends of Lane Seminary are delighted that it has risen above the malice of all enemies, and by the blessing of God,

* There are now in the House of Representatives in Congress, twenty-five members, who represent slaves as the property of their masters.

enjoys a high degree of prosperity. This far, we have avoided much allusion to the Oberlin Institute. If the friends of the latter seminary, dissatisfied with being left alone, will keep up a war with Lane Seminary, we may be compelled to run a parallel between the two institutions. As the students of Lane Seminary have not yet burnt their Greek and Latin classics, they have had little opportunity to bask in the light and heat of the ages; but there is no telling what good examples may do for them.—March 3.

The letter to which allusion is made, we suppose, to be the following,—taken from a late number of the "Liberator":—

LANE SEMINARY.

MR. GARRISON:—Sir: Your readers will recollect in what manner the young men attached to Lane Seminary were treated by the government of that institution. They were recollect, too, with what magnanimity and christian heroism they abandoned the seminary, and went in a body, (more than fifty, I believe,) into the wilderness to the Oberlin Institute; and perhaps your readers may like to be informed how this Lane Seminary, which has been thus purified from the dross of abolitionism, flourishes. Well, sir, the *Sixth Annual Report* has just been sent me, and from reading it, I and the whole number of students, is—*thirty!* Twelve in the junior, and eighteen in the middle class. Five of these are from Massachusetts, and twenty one of them are college graduates.

What amount of good can that Seminary be doing for the Great West? Why, surely, scarce any; and yet what great preparations have been made, and what glowing anticipations indulged. But so it happens with those who do wrong. God never smiles on the enemies of liberty and free discussion. To instruct and take care of these thirty young men, Doct. Beecher, that man who once influenced a continent, is employed, assisted by three learned professors, with an executive committee of thirteen, and twelve other members of the board, eight and twenty officers, to take care of thirty students! No wonder they drove off the abolitionists.

Yours,

OBSERVATOR.

We are unable to discover anything in the communication of "Observer," that furnishes just ground for the remarks of the Journal and Luminary. They are written as it seems to us in a spirit tending much to produce, and to continue, alienation of feeling among those who ought to be friends. We wish to use this as an occasion for pointing out what we deem errors, that have become injuriously common among our religious journals.

1st. By the use of the word "abolitionist" is intended to cast on the writer the odium which it is supposed may successfully be directed against any one who is distinguished by it. This, we take it, is *wrong*—not only in irregular men, but especially so in christians, whose example ought to be looked up to by others. Where any charge is made by a christian, it ought to be made on its merits. Any resort to *prejudice* is below the dignity of the christian character, and at war with the spirit of christian discussion.

2d. The writer intends to include "Observer" in the denomination of "ultraists." The same objection exists here, that has just been made to the use of the word abolitionist. It seems as if he were resolved to take all the advantage which *prejudice* can give in attaching to his adversary hard names. A recourse to this—would, moreover, appear almost unnecessary,—because "Observer" has confined himself, as he alleges, to facts obtained from one of the reports published by the proper authorities of Lane Seminary. If he has not given them correctly, or has garbled them, he could have been successfully met by showing his statements to be insufficient or erroneous.

3d. The Journal and Luminary would imply that "Observer" and all who publish such facts with such comments as he has made, must be influenced by the "malice" of "enemies." Now, notwithstanding the danger which we run of being put down among the "enemies" of Lane Seminary, we cannot help thinking with "Observer," that the *corp* of distinguished Professors, &c. &c., is unusually large for the instruction and care of thirty young men. Shall we not be permitted to form an opinion of the prosperity or declension of an institution of learning, without being set down as its "enemies"? Surely this would be the height of intolerance. Beside, it would be as ill judged as it is intolerant;—because if a seminary be really declining—a thing that not unfrequently happens—there is no ground for urging reformation, if all are bound to think well of it, and to approve the course it is pursuing. We estimate as highly as the editor of the Journal and Luminary, the talents and learning of the Professors of Lane Seminary. We feel every confidence that, on this score, there is no reason for its having only thirty young men within its ample walls. Yet, do we feel equally confident that, under their conduct, it will not attain the distinction to which once it seemed fast rising. Our reasons are simply these—It is rather too liberal on the subject of slavery, for the slave states—and not enough so, for the free states. It suits neither. The young men born in Kentucky (from which state Lane Seminary had more to expect than from any other of the slave States) and who enter on a course of preparation for the ministry are not generally speaking, from the slaveholding aristocracy, they are from another class, and readily embrace anti-slavery doctrines. They will not then be solicitous to pursue their studies in Lane Seminary. Again,—nearly all the young men in the free states, who are now rising up and preparing themselves for the sacred ministry, are, when left to themselves, abolitionists. It is true, that the influence of such men as Dr. Beecher, Dr. Alexander, and Prof. Stuart, may, by its constant vigilance, and powerful pressure restrain many young men from an open avowal of their sentiments in reference to slavery. But the very fact of their being placed in a situation, where they are under any necessity of suppressing their thoughts on so important a subject will give them a distaste to the institution at which they have been educated. They will leave without regret—and will not be careful to recommend it to others. We believe, that neither Lane Seminary, nor any other, which takes a decided stand against abolitionism, and the great principles of freedom which slaveholding folly has now necessarily connected with it, can succeed. When the present administration of Lane Seminary, passes away and another of different views is gradually introduced—her prosperity will be as great as talents and learning and piety and an advantageous situation can make it. We offer these remarks with entire exemption from any ill will—and with as much deliberation as we would use in coming to a determination on any other matter submitted to our judgment. Yet how often has the thought occurred to us, that God—in the early introduction of the abolition question into Lane Seminary—offered to the distinguished President of it, in the very winter of his life a new spring under whose genial influence his name might have struck fresh root and borne a mighty tree whose leaves would have been indeed, for the healing of the nations. What might he not have done, with the amount of sanctified mind at one time under his control! But now, we apprehend, it is too late.

4th. We object to the course of the Journal and Luminary, because it unnecessarily carps at an institution not brought, in any way in comparison with the one to which its editor is so much attached. A menace of future deal-

ings with it is made,—as unbecoming an editor and a friend of learning and religion, as it will in all probability be unheeded by the party against which it is directed. If Oberlin throw open the doors to such as *act* out the great principles of humanity and love taught by the Saviour; if she remove the pressure which the Rabbism of all past time has imposed on the freedom of thought and discussion, and which the Rabbism of the present time is striving to continue; if she have broken up the barriers of *caste*, so that christianity with its oil and wine, may approach the robbed, the perishing, and the poor; if she have severed the bands, by which a church aristocracy, acting in obedience to a corrupt and irreligious public sentiment, has attempted to stifle charity, and prevent its growth to christian manhood; if we say, under these circumstances, Oberlin should find her halls filled, and her gates yet crowded, why should any friend of God and man repine?

First Anniversary.

It will be seen, by the notice published to day, that the FIRST ANNIVERSARY of the "Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society" is appointed to be held at Granville, in Licking county, on Wednesday, the 27th next month. Such a step on the part of the Executive Committee will be hailed with joy, by every true hearted and zealous abolitionist. And why not? Does he not remember, that our state convention was held when there were represented in it not more, perhaps, than some fifteen or twenty regularly constituted anti-slavery societies—that this was only ten months ago; that, now, the number of societies in the state are but little short, if any, of ONE HUNDRED; that every week brings intelligence of the formation of additional ones—and every day of the advancement of those principles that lead to the emancipation of the slave, as well as to the re-establishment and confirmation of our own rights as republican freemen.

We approve decidedly of every arrangement and suggestion made by the Executive Committee, in relation to the meeting and to the duties of the local societies. No place more appropriate than Granville, it seems to us, could have been fixed upon—it is central—easily accessible—and, what is still more important, it is a point of great moral, religious and intelligent influence. If we are not altogether in error as to the character of Granville and its vicinity, there is no place in the state, where sensible and temperate discussion of the great truths, that God in his providence is bringing up before the public mind of this country, would be more heartily welcomed.

It is greatly to be desired, that the meeting be a large one. It will shorten the work before us. It is an opinion, about the correctness of which, we entertain no doubt, that if the abolitionists of Ohio be what they are believed to be, *working men*, the whole state may be effectually abolitionized in two years. It is absolutely astonishing to see with what pleasure—with what alacrity—the people when left to their own unwearied good sense, and to the influence of their own unsophisticated good sympathies, receive and cherish the truths pertaining to HUMAN RIGHTS.

Our adversaries are greatly perplexed;—and no wonder. If they give us *peace* we prosper,—if they *persecute*, we prosper. Whilst we should neither be surprised nor disquieted, when we see them giving way to improper feelings and falling into improper practices, we have reason to thank God for making efficacious already, in so many instances, that Truth which he has put into our hands for their conversion to the side of mercy. We should indeed, thank him and take courage—and never cease to pray that we may be kept right, and that they who oppose us may be brought right.

The suggestions marked 1st, 2nd, 3d, are all important. No great matter like this, can be well conducted without a due regard to *system*. By, at once, throwing all our state anti-slavery efforts into complete system, we will find them more easily conducted—more effectual—and, of course, sooner crowned with that glorious triumph which awaits their honest prosecution.

What Slavery can do.

FROM the annexed sketch of the proceedings of the Senate, it will be seen, that a deliberative assembly, believed by our countrymen to be the most dignified in the world, is about suffering some stigma from the imprudent expressions of one of its members. What confidence can be reposed in the usefulness—in the legislative integrity of any man—especially of one whose business it has been through a life reaching to three-score years, as a lawyer to expound the laws—as a judge to administer them, and as a Senator to assist in making them—who asserts in his place in the Senate, that it is "lawful and right" to disgrace and punish by stripes and death, American citizens, for the offence of attempting to re-establish in the mind and heart of their countrymen, the noblest truth proclaimed by our revolutionary fathers—a truth for which they have received the honor of every lover of liberty throughout the world? What must be thought of a Senator, who, regardless of his own fame as well as of the reputation of the body to which he belongs—would thus attempt to blacken both?

And yet this violence and recklessness is nothing more than the appropriate fruit of slavery. We have personal knowledge of Mr. Grundy—and notwithstanding his being a thorough-paced politician and partizan, (although he is a professor of religion)—we yet have always set him down as a man of gentle feelings and amiable temper. We have never thought him vindictive—nor do we now. But if he is to be believed, in his place, there is nothing too sacred to be sacrificed to the system in which he is involved.

We rejoice to see Mr. Morris rebuking, as he did, the spirit of slavery, when it utters its bloody sayings in his presence.

Every such throe and spasm of infuriated slaveholders, ought to give to the friends of liberty fresh impulse in her cause. The more energetically we work; the more incessantly we ply our only weapon the *Truth*; the shorter will be the term of our labors, and the earlier will be our peaceful and glorious triumph. Every fresh convulsion of the determined slaveholder, is fresh evidence that the truth is doing its proper office, and that the day of our beloved country's deliverance from the scorn of the world and the curse of God, draweth nigh.

CONGRESS.—We have before us the proceedings of Congress to March 8, inclusive. Abolitionism occupied the Senate.

Mr. Grundy expatiated on the mischief which the Abolitionists, who professed to be the greatest friends of the colored people, had done to that class of the community. They had broken up their Sabbath schools, their assemblies to hear the gospel; they had brought on them severe, and necessary restrictions, and had deprived them of many indulgences which they had before enjoyed; and had produced a distrust, before unknown, between the slaves and

their masters. Mr. G. said a law for abolition in the District would not release a single slave. They would all be taken out of the District during its passage. Mr. G. was opposed to *rejecting the petitions*. Mr. G. alluded, with a strong disapprobation, to a circumstance mentioned by Mr. Hubbard yesterday, that the synod of Ohio had adopted an excluding resolution against slaveholders, and the advocates of slavery. Mr. G. could hardly credit the truth of this account.

Mr. Hubbard represented the testimony to the fact as sufficiently respectable.

Mr. Morris admitted the truth of the statement, but was understood to explain, that the exclusion in question related to the houses of the synod, and not to their communion. Mr. M. proceeded to censure some expressions of Mr. Grundy, but was called to order by the Chair.

Mr. Grundy explained, that his meaning was, that if abolitionists should come among the slaveholders, and attempt to carry into practice their evil designs, the particular mischief would be put so far out of the way, that it would not be likely again to come upon them. Mr. G. thought it was lawful and right to do so.

Mr. Morris was permitted by the Chair to go so far as to express his regret that any countenance should ever be given to the execution of "Lynch's Law," in the Senate of the United States.—*Cin. Gazette.*

More Testimony from the West Indies.

THE articles re-published from the New York Evangelist, in this and the last number of the Philanthropist, in relation to emancipation in the British West Indies are, to every friend of liberty, of deep interest. We fear, that many of our editors who are favorable to slavery at home, will not give the information contained in these articles to their readers. We shall make it a point—though contrary to our general course—to send our present, and last number, to the presses in Cincinnati with which we do not exchange. We wish to lay before the people generally, important information connected with a subject daily growing in magnitude among ourselves—or to know, that it has been purposely withheld.

THE WEST INDIES.—A brother in Massachusetts writes, Feb 21st, "A clergyman called on me this morning, and in the course of conversation said, that he had just received a letter from a West India planter, who expressed his *thankfulness* that slavery there was at an end. The experiment was working in the happiest manner. It would thus seem that the planters themselves, now that the thing is done, are glad of it."

No doubt they are glad—as glad as the drunkard or the tobacco-curer is when he falls reformed. The agony is over when the will is decided.

One word of remark respecting the articles in our last from Barbadoes and Jamaica. They are to be received as independent witnesses, examined separately, for neither knew of the existence of the other. The article on Barbadoes is from notes of a conversation. A large part of the Jamaica article is given as we wrote it down sentence by sentence from the lips of our informant. And we will say, that such is the standing and character of the gentleman to whom we are so much indebted, that we have the fullest satisfaction in his representations.

The proof, then, is already—so soon—complete and ample, that the abolition of slavery in a country is a common blessing, to masters, to servants, to humanity, to religion, to commerce, to the world, even when done under the most unpropitious circumstances and in the worst conceivable mode. For we can hardly conceive of a worse mode of abolishing slavery (unless by banishment) than the apprenticeship system, imposed upon unwilling and preverse subjects, by a distant government, as in the case of Jamaica. How much more propitious would be the influence, if made by the spontaneous movements of humanity on the part of the masters themselves.—*M. Y. Evan.*

Triumph of Truth.

WHAT abolitionist, we ask, can read the following account, taken from the Utica Standard and Democrat, without feeling an increase of confidence in the power of the Truth, as well as of gratitude to God, for thus signally blessing its honest presentation? The success of our cause is truly astonishing;—every day brings fresh evidence of its growth in the hearts and minds of the people. In New York, it is taking hold with astonishing tenacity. We pretend to no uncommon forecast—but if we may be permitted to judge of what will be twelve months hence, from *causes now in operation*, we hesitate not to say that the Empire state in that time, will be well abolitionized, and her great powers of mind and her large sympathies, will be found pleading and acting on the side of Liberty and Mercy against Oppression and Slavery.

ABOLITION IN UTICA.

ONE THOUSAND ABOLITIONISTS:—*Twelve Hundred Signers to a Petition to Abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia*.—Theodore D. Weld has lectured fifteen successive nights, in the 2d Presbyterian church in Bleeker street, from which a convention of near six hundred delegates, to form a constitution for a state society were expelled 21st last October by a mob headed by a member of Congress, a first Judge of the county, and a Senator now of this state, and a clerk of this county, and several subordinate persons. Mr. Weld had houses filled to the brim every night, and last Sabbath evening 400 or 500 went away for want of room. At the end of the meeting Sabbath evening, the constitution of the Utica Anti-Slavery Society was circulated, and near 600 signed that important document. No mob, no opposition. The other two papers dare not open their mouths in opposition to such an overflowing rush of public opinion in favor of abolition.

We have 1000 abolitionists in Utica and 1200 have signed the abolition petition to Congress, a majority of the names men. We can get 300 more. Mr. Weld is truly a great man, one of the most brilliant stars in the firmament of greatness.

Slaveholding Infatuation.

MR. PRESTON offered the following resolution:—*Resolved*, That it is expedient, the states of Maryland and Virginia assenting thereto, to retrocede the District of Columbia to these states, with such reservations as may be necessary for this government.

The above is fresh evidence not only of slaveholding infatuation—but of the fact that slaveholders are beginning to see, that the axe is laid at the root of the tree of Slavery. Slow of heart are the great majority of our free state members of Congress to believe, yet we are not without hope that the proposition of Mr. P. and the conduct of the south in Congress, will at length, bring them to a knowledge of this truth—if slavery be not slain, every thing that is precious as pertaining to liberty must be made our sacrificial offering to it. Slavery will be satisfied with nothing short of it.

It would seem to be the determination of the slaveholding leaders, that the greatest evil known in the land, shall never more be mentioned in the legislature of the republic—that the slave trade, its greatest shame, shall, as carried on by this HOPE OF NATIONS, to all posterity be made honorable—and that the public marts for human flesh, reeking with the gore, and resounding with the cries of their victims, shall be faithfully sentinelled and carefully protected from every intrusion of philanthropy or pity, in the very vein, too, of the Star-Spangled Banner spreading its wide folds over the land of the free and the home of the—

LOVE thy neighbor for God's sake, and God for his own sake, who created all things for thy sake, and redeemed thee for his mercy sake; if thy love have any other object, it is false love; if thy object have any other end, it is self love.—*Quarle.*

The Methodist Correspondent.

THE Methodist Correspondent published at Zanesville, says:—

"A southern brother who has been a friend to our paper for some years past, states the reason why he patronizes us, is, because we sometimes publish things a little stronger than milk and water, and give metes and bounds to our opponents."

We would be pleased to see the Methodist Correspondent try the strength of his southern brother's stomach, by giving him, if he be a slaveholder, or the advocate of slaveholding, something on the sin of oppression a little stronger than what he has yet administered.

Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies.

THE secretary of the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society informs us, that EIGHTY-FOUR Anti-Slavery Societies are reported as formed in Ohio.

Editorial Correspondence.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.—*From a gentleman in Concord, New Hampshire.*—"Our prospects are brightening in this section of country. Anti-Slavery publications are eagerly sought after; and light is spreading; truth must and will triumph. Be assured, dear brother, you are not forgotten in our sympathy and daily prayers. Our ardent prayer to God is for you continually, for the sake of his truth, and his suffering and oppressed poor. We trust we have your prayers also. Hitherto, God has given us affecting evidence, that 'the very hairs of our heads are all numbered.' In God is safety; and in him, is success."

From Northampton, Massachusetts.—"The cause of freedom is continually gaining in New England; yet there is a strong, a tremendous opposition, and the contest is far from being terminated. We rejoice to see your banner of Freedom waving on the confines of Slavery. You are close to the lion's den, and are exposed to greater trials and dangers than your coadjutors in some other states. May the Lord preserve you, and bless your efforts in the great cause of emancipation."

From Harrison county, Ohio.—"The abolition question is gaining ground in this neighborhood. We receive near 60 copies of the 'Emancipator'—60 of 'Human Rights'—and 7 of the 'Liberator,' besides several others."

From I. W. Alvord, in Ashtabula county, Ohio.—"I have been out on my agency about six weeks.—My success has been varied—in this place (Willoughby) I have had much opposition, [Mr. A. was mobbed here, but the result was for his good.] In Austinsburg I met the ladies co-society—an interesting meeting, and 150 names were added to their number. They are forming auxiliaries in all the towns of the county (Ashtabula), on the whole, anti-slavery is making good progress in all this part of the state."

From Jefferson county, Ohio.—"Yesterday I forwarded the names of five subscribers to the Philanthropist: to day I send you the names of three additional, which, added to those I formerly gave you, make fifteen. As far as I know, they are all abolitionists, yet many of them would not have ordered your paper, had your pro-slavery friends of Cincinnati saved themselves the trouble of calling a meeting to pass resolutions to forestall public opinion, on the great cause of abolition, which, having the succor of Omnipotence, laughs at all the preambles and resolutions, bolts and bars, whips and mobs and scaffolds, which the slavemasters and their abettors are endeavoring to embarrass her with. No: abolitionists know that the Lord of Hosts is on the side of the oppressed; they therefore fear no evil—'though the mouth of the wicked and the mouth of the deceitful are opened against them'—though they have spoken against them with a lying tongue, have compassed them about with words of hatred, and fought against them without a cause'—through God we shall do valiantly; for he it is that shall lead us on to victory,—for as certainly as he heard the groanings of his people in Egypt, and came down and delivered them,—will he hear the cries and groans of his people in Republic America, and deliver them; for it is written, 'Ethiopia shall yet stretch out her hands unto God'—it is also written, that 'each one shall worship Him from his place, even all the isles of the heathen.'"

From Fallstown, Ohio.—"After an order for thirteen copies of the Philanthropist:—'Having the pleasure of reading some of thy views on the subject of abolition, I have taken some interest in the circulation of thy paper. The zeal manifested in your city, to suppress a publication of that nature, is much to be regretted. I think it a bad cause that must resort to the passions of an inconsiderate mob for the enforcement of it. I annex the addresses for thy paper.'"

From Highland county, Ohio.—"After an order for the Philanthropist:—'I was sorry to see the names of Judge B—, and Judge W—, (whose names formerly were associated with everything good and great) at the head of a meeting, whose object was to suppress liberty and humanity. When Order and Reason resume their seat, the thought of that night's proceedings will be lamented by many, who lent their influence on that occasion. As well might the people of Cincinnati have paraded along the silent waters of the Ohio, and order it to stop running, as to order the principles of abolition to cease.'"

SPIRIT OF LIBERTY IN THE SOUTH.

Evils of Mobocracy.

EXTRACT from a speech of Judge Gaston, of North Carolina:—"History teaches that the general and too eager pursuit of riches, must bring on the downfall of republican liberty."

"Public virtue is the only solid basis which can uphold the glorious structure of freedom; and public virtue is not to be found when the quarry of personal integrity has been worked off and exhausted. 'He who hesitates not by falsehood,—either known to be falsehood, or recklessly taken up without care whether it be false or true,—to destroy the fame of an adversary, wants but little of the guilt of him who would stab an enemy in the dark. Personal abuse is a poisoned weapon.'"

"Unrestrained liberty is anarchy; dominion in the strong; slavery in the weak; outrage and plunder in the combined oppressors; helpless misery in the oppressed; insecurity, suspicion, distrust and fear to all. Law is the guardian of freedom."

"The summary is short. Liberty becomes licentious, and bursts the bounds of law. Factions rage and war against each other. The war of factions is succeeded by a confiscating and sanguinary anarchy. Anarchy is superceded by tyranny."

"Ambitious men may rise and disappear, parties may struggle, and power often change hands; but our country will remain, our country will flourish in immortal youth, unharmed amidst the crush of contending factions, and surviving the wreck of most mortal things, if the soul of national freedom be kept

alive. The breath of that life is virtue. Demoralized public sentiment is a mephitic gas in which freedom dies."

"The following bold but correct view of the evils of mobocracy deserve an attentive reading:

[The remaining paragraph is specially recommended to the consideration of certain of the dough-face editors of Cincinnati and elsewhere, who say the abolitionists are to be put down; peacefully, if they will—forcibly if they must. In such manifestations of sentiment even at the south—for Judge Gaston is of North Carolina—they may enjoy an antepast of the weightier indignation with which the intelligent patriotism of this country will soon overwhelm them.]—*Ed. Phil.*

"We tell the people of the United States, that unless they look well to themselves, the day of their destruction is at hand. They are trying to destroy themselves. We do denounce as a traitor every man who encourages in any shape, or under any pretext, the putting down and abrogating of the laws. We disclaim every man who advises the people to take the laws into their own hands, no matter how much good may for once be done hereby. We say that every man who deprives or attempts to deprive the veriest wretch that breathes God's atmosphere, of the right of trial by jury, for any crime, is virtually a traitor—not only to his country, but to his own best rights and dearest interests. Men who unchain a mob, are like men who unchain the plague and pestilence. It may rid them and their country of their enemies and its scourges; but will also sweep them away in its poisonous career. We would take him to be insane who would sit on the brink of a volcano, and throw into it the inflammable matter to produce an eruption; but we see men advocating mob law and anarchy, on the score of expediency, (as if any expediency can justify overwhelming the law) and we still suffer them to preach on."—*Arkansas Id.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

I UNDERSTAND that an act is now before the legislature of this state, having passed one house, for abolishing horse racing in the county of Cuyahoga. I earnestly hope that those individuals who, from good motives no doubt, but with mistaken views of duty, urge the entire abandonment of this evil, will pause and consider, before they do any thing that will be so irreparable to the country, and so contrary to the Bible, as entire prohibition of racing. There is no doubt that some reform in this thing would be proper; but all *fanatical* and *ultra* measures should be avoided; they would disgust the real opponents of racing, and a reaction would follow, until, in a short time, every man in the community would become a horse-racer.

I know of no passage in the Bible which expressly forbids horse-racing. It is a historical fact, that racing, on horse and foot, existed in the days of Christ and his apostles, and had existed a long time before, especially in the Olympic exercises of the Greeks, and yet neither He nor they uttered a word against the practice. How then can christians in this day so far depart from the example of our blessed master, as to preach such doctrines? None but fanatics and new lights—men who falsely profess to be better than their predecessors—will do it. It is the abuse of the practice of racing, that renders it an evil. Shall we declaim against a practice, in toto, which Christ and his apostles did not condemn, because some men abuse it? Even the christian religion has in some instances abused—shall we therefore decree religion?

There is no doubt that some reformation is necessary and proper. It is against *ultraism* that I plead. I would suggest that races be forbidden every Thursday—that no man shall be permitted to ride a *white* horse in a race—and that mules and asses be in no case excluded. We have high authority in the new testament, for the propriety of riding these animals. It is true that the good men of old did not exactly ride races. They were an abuse of the privilege of riding; but shall we therefore altogether prohibit a practice, because some men abuse it? I hope that all, and especially christians, will consider well before they countenance measures which will go to condemn what is not condemned in the Bible, and to do away a practice which is in many respects highly proper, because a few fanatics and ultras have undertaken to decry it, for the sake of popularity.—*Whig.*

A MORMON.

Farmers Anti-Mob Spirit.

FROM A SERMON BY THE REVEREND J. TODD. "You know the history of the last year. It is decided that in our large cities the mob rules, and the laws are cobwebs. It has been decided that to horse-whip a clergyman in the street shall cost \$60. for a blackman to horsewhip the chairman of the selectmen, only \$30; and for common men to destroy property, and brat and kill one another, it shall cost nothing! Look forward, and what is before us! There is not a city in our land which the mob cannot rule when they please, and as they please—and there is an end to law whenever a neighborhood chooses to nullify it. Who is surprised to read in a newspaper that even innocent men are lynched, and it is called, abused, degraded, dishonored, and yet no law will reach them, to protect their lives, or to punish the transgressors. There is one class of men upon whom we can as yet rely. It is the same who stood on the little green at Lexington—that gathered on the heights of Bunker Hill, and poured down from the hill of New England, when the English lion was ready to devour it. I mean the farmers. They were never found trampling on law and right. Were I to commit my character to any class of men,—my life in danger,—my family,—and my country's safety, it would be to the farmers. They are a class of men such as the world never saw for honesty, intelligence, and Roman virtue, sweetened by the gospel of God. And when this nation quakes, they and their sons are those that will stand by the sheet anchor of our liberties, and hold the ship at her moorings till she outrides the storm."

Fruits [genuine] fruits of Abolition.

A LATE Paris Semeur informs us that a Normal School is about being established in the Island of Jamaica, by special subscriptions, under the patronage of the governor, the Marquis of Sligo, and among the liberal donors are found the names of three colored men, William Bryan, and William Gordon, each have subscribed £10 sterling and William Coulson £20 sterling. Two of these generous men were themselves formerly slaves, and having gained their own liberty by the most toilsome efforts, they applied themselves to commerce and gained the esteem of all the other merchants of Spanish Town. Neither of them can read, but they highly value a school designed to prepare teachers for their brethren, and freely make sacrifices to contribute to the removal of the obstacles which have so long hindered the development and progress of the sons of Africa.—*Le Semeur, Nov. 25th.*

INSULT not over misery, nor deride infirmity, nor despise deformity. The first shows thy inhumanity; the second thy folly; the third thy pride: he that made him miserable, made thee happy to lament him; he that made him weak, made thee strong to support him; he that made him deformed, gave thee favor to be humbled: he that is not sensible of another's unhappiness, is a living stone; but he that makes misery the object of his triumph, is an incarnate devil.—*Quarle.*

It is never too late to repent, if there be only time left for reformation.—*A. C.*

POETRY.

The Slave Trader.

FROM MRS. CHILD'S OASIS.

THE following lines are founded upon the history of one of the writer's townsmen, who in his youth was engaged in the African Slave Trade. A short time after his return to his native place, he was stricken with insanity;—and it became necessary to confine him. A pair of shackles which he had brought from Africa, but whose former use none of his family had suspected, were used on the occasion. Just before his death, he started up suddenly—gazed on his chains, and making a desperate effort to free himself, exclaimed, "Oh, my God!—the very fetters of my slaves!"

'Tis long ago—the grass is green,
Where once a cheerful dwelling rose;
And where the frequent step had been,
The thistle now untrampled grows.

Ay—long ago—since on that spot,
A lighted hearth, and voice of prayer,
From those who now are half forgot,
Told of a human dwelling there.

Full eighty years have pass'd, since there,
His numerous household band beside,
A kneeling man with thin gray hair,
Offer'd his prayer at even-tide.

How fervent was that father's prayer,
For those whose cheris'd love was dear
To Him, who hath a father's care
For all his lowly children here!

With earnest voice, and upraised eye,
His wrestling spirit rose above,
Asking for blessings, trustingly,
On him who bore his name and love.

A journeyer on the Ocean's breast,
His best beloved—his elder born,
Dove-like, from home's dear ark of rest,
Long weary years before had gone.

And ever had that wanderer's name
Been breathed, as in the evening prayer,
The father's voice upon the same,
As it had risen when he was there.

Night fell on Teembo's heated bay,
His breeze the heavy palm-tops fann'd
Quiet and cool the dew-drops lay
Upon the parch'd and burning land!

Abroad upon the earth that night,
The solemn veil of moonlight fell—
Each low-walled dwelling rose in light,
And tree and floweret slumber'd well!

Pure, dove-like peace watch'd o'er the scene,
And breathed upon the balmy air—
Had human hearts as holy been,
Bright angels might have worshipp'd there!

Casting her shadow on that bay,
Where all beside was waveless light,
Anchor'd, a stranger vessel lay,
With Africa's slumbering world in sight.

Her leader—oh!—why, was he there?
Forgetful of his childhood's love,
Of home, where still for him in prayer,
A father's spirit rose above!

From that dark vessel to the land,
A crowded boat was swiftly sped—
The forms it bore were on the sand,
With serpent eye and stealthy tread.

They bound their captives—and the oar
Moved lightly for the ship again—
While from the water and the shore,
Arose wild shrieks of grief and pain!

Out sea-ward in the rising breeze,
That vessel's sails were stretching far—
What power should guard her o'er the seas?
What light should be her guiding star?

Again his foot is on the spot,
So often press'd in childhood's hours—
All is the same—all forgot—
The same green trees, the same bright flowers.

Again at home—as once young vine,
Torn rudely from its loved embrace,
Restored again will fondly twine,
Around its earlier resting-place—

So should the kindly heart return,
Though long and wearily estranged;
And still that heart's own altar burn
With light and incense all unchanged.

Not so with him—the guilty heart,
Might never thrill with joy again,
Nor the stung conscience bear a part,
In anything save sin and pain.

In vain he struggled to conceal,
Beneath a stern and gloomy air,
Feelings that scorched like burning steel,
Till reason yielded to despair.

In sleep the weary sufferer lay,
With fever'd brow and fetter'd limb—
Madness had worn his life away—
Another world awaited him.

Sleep pass'd away—no longer burn'd
The fire of madness on his brain,
The blessed light of mind return'd,
And for a moment shone again!

"Why have ye bound me?"—and his eye
Fell quickly on his fetter'd hands—
One glance—one shriek of agony—
One struggle to unloose his bands!

Visions of blood, and stormy waves,
Swept wildly o'er his clouded brain—
"Oh God!—the fetters of my slaves!
Take off—take off the negro's chain!"

Kind hands had loosed each fetter'd limb,
As painful came the sufferer's breath,
But other chains were binding him,
The colder, heavier chains of death!

Think of the Slave.

THINK of the slave in your hours of glee,
Ye who are treading life's flowery way;
Nought but its rankling thorns has he,
Nought but the gloom of its wintry day.

Think of the slave in your hours of prayer,
When worldly thoughts in your hearts are dim,
Offer your thanks for the bliss ye share,
But pray for a brighter lot for him.

ANTI-SLAVERY INTELLIGENCE.

Things in Jamaica.

WE have recently had the pleasure of conversing with a gentleman who had just come from the island of Jamaica, and we were truly surprised and happily deceived by his account of the state of things in that island, so different from the previous reports so industriously circulated in this country, and so nearly corresponding with the view given last week respecting the island of Barbadoes. This gentleman has had every opportunity, for years, of observing the state of things, and noting the effects of the transition from slavery to freedom. Our friend is also a religious man, and has closely observed the effects of religious instruction upon the minds of the slaves; and he represents the improvement in morals, intelligence, order, industry, &c., has been truly wonderful, since the emancipation act took effect.

Formerly the military force used to lose hundreds of men in a year, by marching about the island to suppress disturbance, or keep the slaves in awe. Now the troops are all concentrated at three or four stations, and there has not been one man marched out for any such purpose the past year. The soldiers have had one quiet winter, for the first time within recollection.

The Christmas holidays used to be attended with the greatest disorders. Thongs of slaves would parade the streets of Kingston, unrestrained, for eight days, by the authority of their masters. The military were always in attendance to quell disturbance and riots. At the last Christmas, nothing of the kind occurred. Although the slaves had every liberty, of parading the streets night and day, with music, and all night long, for ten days, there was not a single complaint preferred against any of them, nor one confined in any guard-house or prison for misconduct. In the midst of their usual pastimes, the people respected the Sabbath day, and most of them went well-dressed and orderly, to their churches. They said, "We are free now, and it is not respectable to do as we used to." Formerly they could not go to church at Christmas, without running the risk of getting their backs striped with the lash.

Since the abolition, the Sunday markets are abolished, and no man goes to market to buy or sell on the Sabbath. Saturday is now the market day. As our informant had frequent occasion to pass one of the most populous roads from Kingston to the country, he could not but be struck with the marked difference in the personal appearance, dress, and behavior of the people in coming to and going from market.

Formerly the slaves used to live in concubinage; now they are getting married, and are ambitious to be thought Christians, and to have their children baptized, previous to which they are examined by the clergyman as to their knowledge of this sacrament and of religion.

The ministers of the church of England are supported by the Society for Propagating the Gospel. The salary of a minister is £300 sterling (£1500), with £50 per annum for his wife if married, and £25 for each child, a house, a donation of £100 to purchase horses, and a yearly allowance of £36 for servants. Many valuable ministers are already stationed, and the influence of their labors has called forth high commendation even from the bitterest opposers of religion, so that now the planters even complain, and are jealous if others have ministers, and their own parishes are not supplied. Many catechists of the church of England have also been sent out and stationed. They are persons well educated, and approved for piety and zeal, and generally candidates for holy orders. They are allowed a yearly salary of \$1500 to \$2000, with free quarters, and other emoluments, and have done immense good in teaching and catechizing. Not only Episcopalians, but Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, &c., are equally anxious and zealous in the work of reformation.

When churches are to be built, the slaves are first to put their names down to give money for the work. Much is done in the way of schools, wherever there are ministers of any denomination. The clergy of all denominations are zealous and exemplary, and such is their success, as to leave no room to doubt that the whole population of the island will in twenty years be in the enjoyment of all the blessings of civilization, freedom, and religion.

It is impossible to look at this people, and not see how essential is religion, as the great means of civilization. They are all ambitious of being able to read the Bible, and feel that it is now a disparagement not to be able to read. In the country parishes, those who have the means of comfort will sometimes not work on Saturdays for wages, because they wish to employ the day in receiving instruction. The slaves used to speak a barbarous dialect of broken English, unintelligible to a stranger. Now they are taking pride in being able to speak English, and each is ambitious of speaking it better than the rest. That they should make some ludicrous mistakes, and often get hold of a hard word, is not strange. The negro dialect will soon disappear, as well as the negro habits.

A clergyman, a German by birth, and a man of science, who has been connected with the African mission, is now engaged in a high school or college. A valuable place has been purchased, and the plan is, to select promising youth from the different schools, and educate them for the church. There is a gentleman on the island, who, with his lady, supports at his own house some 200 children belonging to another estate, and has them taught at his own expense, and their aptness in learning is astonishing, and their moral deportment bears the strongest testimony in favor of the influence of a knowledge of the Bible.

The security which the people on the island now feel, both as to person and property, is astonishing. They no longer have a thought about it. The "magazine of powder" over which they used to sleep in fear, is wetted and turned to clay.

The horrid stories with which the Jamaica papers used to feed the anti-abolition press in the United States were so notoriously exaggerated, as to give rise to a strong suspicion among the Jamaicans, that they were paid for this country! The most creditable press on the island, is the Jamaica Watchman, conducted by two colored men, Messrs. Jordan and Osborn. Even before the abolition, many gentlemen took the Watchman, because they said they could rely on it for truth.

Mr. Osborn, one of the editors, was born a slave, in the parish of St. Andrews. He purchased his freedom, came to Kingston, obtained some education, and made his way along, step by step, until he finally became a partner of Mr. Jordan in publishing the Watchman. At the general election last year, he was returned a member of the House of Assembly from the parish of St. Andrews, the parish in which he was born, by a large majority. There were four candidates, and among them some of the most respectable white inhabitants on the island, one of them the *custos* of the parish. Since that period, Mr. O. has been appointed, by the governor, a magistrate of the parish and judge of the court of Common Pleas. Several other colored men were returned to this Assembly, some high in the profession of the law, one of them a gentleman who, for talents and character, would be an honor to any country. The other editor of the Watchman, Mr. Jordan, has long been a member, and holds several other high appointments. A gentleman on the island said to another, "I wonder that Osborn should have the effrontery to set himself up as a candidate for the Assembly. If I had been born a slave, I never could have done it." "That is true," replied his friend, "if you had been born a slave, you would have died a slave, for you never had talents enough to draw your feet out of the chains."

The apprentices work for pay, on their own days, almost without exception. Those who have harsh masters, will not work for their masters on their own days, but will work for somebody else. It is said, that the service of an apprentice, for the remaining five years of his apprenticeship, will now sell for more than the man himself would sell for when he was a slave, before the abolition act. One gentleman, a very large estate holder, who was resolutely opposed to emancipation, was asked what he expected would become of his people, when the apprenticeship expires. Said he, "perhaps there are some thirty or forty troublesome fellows, that will go away, but the rest I have no doubt will all stick by me. There is one, whom I manumitted many years ago, and told him he might go where he liked, he was well fitted to be a gentleman's servant and could do well. But he said he had rather stay, and here he is yet. I have thirty or forty more, that were manumitted years before the act, but they have never left me. I furnished them with a little land, and they chose to keep near me, and now some of them have farms of their own which they have purchased. They come to me for advice, and when any difficulty occurs among them, I settle it. I expect the rest will do the same. And when the day comes for the apprenticeship to expire, I believe it will be the commencement of better times than this island ever saw or dreamed of."

Our friend was acquainted with a lady in another island, who, with her husband, manumitted their slaves, some years ago, a score or so in number. The husband died, and the lady became embarrassed; when these manumitted slaves, some of whom were acquiring property, spontaneously came forward and worked her lands, and contributed, of their means, money more than an ample supply for all her necessities. When she remonstrates with them and says, they are too generous, giving her more than she can use, the reply is, "Did you not teach us to read the Bible, and treat us as if we were your own children before we were emancipated?"

The disorders that took place during the first few months after the 1st of August, 1834, are accounted for, from the violence of the drivers and overseers, who took unwarlike pains to irritate and provoke the slaves, and then they would go and enter a complaint for insolence and insubordination. But this trick is now worn out. Many of the overseers, and some planters, gratified their revengeful spirit by flogging their slaves severely on the last hours of the 31st of July, they being emancipated the next morning. One man took an old woman, on the last night of slavery, and shaved her head, flogged her severely, and then put her in ox-chains. But unluckily for himself, he left her in chains over night, so that she was severely fined by the special magistrate.—N. Y. Evan.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Right and Wrong.

THE Galaxy in noticing a work recently published, entitled "Right and Wrong in Boston," observes that—

It gives a fair and exact statement of the proceedings of the people on the day of the riot connected with them, and the sentiments of the press before and after that event. The words of every editor are here given in full. Honest opinion, and servile crouching to public misrule here display their unvarnished faces, and men may see who it were good for them to trust—who would hold up a shining beacon, which will prove but the ignis fatuus to lead them astray. We say nothing of the book as a whole—we speak not a word of its doctrines—we have to do with this portion alone—the proceedings of the press.

Let it not be thought that we are striving, by improper remarks, to open a wound that has partly healed. Far from our wishes is it to accomplish any such result. Now—now is the time for those who fear for the end of these things, to speak out boldly and plainly—now—when passion is somewhat calm—when men, divested of the robe of excitement which enveloped them, and willing and able to let their judgement see and hear and consider—when the first gust of the hurricane is over—now is the time, the very time to inquire—may not the elements be only slumbering—may we not look in fear for another—more fierce storm?

We speak plainly but honestly—and let our words be valued according to the motives which have prompted them. We take up the gauntlet from no personal feeling, for we have none—from no party excitement—for we belong to no party. We couch our lance for the dignity of the press! We speak for our own honor as one of a class. We would vindicate those who feel and appreciate the responsibility of their station, from the reproach cast upon them by those who have no conception of the views men have a right to demand of them. We feel, and have ever felt a consciousness of the solemn—yes solemn trust committed to the guardians of the press; and we deeply, firmly hope that neither fear nor hate, nor what may be worse—a mercenary motive make us shrink.

With this exposition let us to our subject. The society whose proceedings from first to last have given rise to our remarks, pursued a course of conduct and advocated and endeavored to disseminate doctrines, at variance with public opinion. The feeling against them was general. Disastrous consequences were apprehended should their views be received. Our citizens became generally excited. The matter became a topic of common conversation, and then was first handled by the press. The first remarks were made in a condemnatory manner in relation to the announcement from certain pulpits of a proposed meeting. This was of course justifiable. They were but expressions of opinion. They were brought to bear upon no point from which dangerous consequences might be apprehended. It is certainly well for the press, when it views with sorrow any line of conduct, to reason with those who would pursue it. But it should be done rationally, dispassionately, calmly. In some of these prefatorial notices, there was certainly too much abuse, too little sobriety, but they were not very objectionable.

The next step with some was to warn the obnoxious individuals of what the public might do to them if they offended it again—and to excite the public by inflammatory language to disregard order and law and right and justice, should the offence be given. The articles alluded to were couched in very exciting language, and a veil of truth and seeming propriety was thrown over them awfully calculated to mislead men, laboring as they were, under stimulated passions that only wanted encouragement to break forth and rage in violence. We subjoin an extract of the kind—it is from one of the daily prints. It is in reference to Thompson.

"But it is hoped that this artful and despicable mode of escape will not be permitted to avail the impudent foreigner any longer. He should be taught at once and forever, that if he persists in agitating the question of immediate abolition, in opposition to the feelings and wishes of nine-tenths of the citizens of Boston, and of the whole country, he must—whether surrounded by females or not—meet the consequence his reckless and wicked conduct so richly merits. It is in vain that we hold meetings in Faneuil Hall, and call into action the eloquence and patriotism of our most talented citizens—if Thompson and Garrison and their vile associates in this city, are to be permitted to hold their meetings in the broad face of day, and to continue their denunciations against the planters of the south. They must be put down, if we would preserve our consistency. The evil is one of the greatest magnitude—and the opinion prevails pretty generally, that, if there is no law that will reach it, it must be reached in some other way.

"If he attempts to deliver an address in this city

on Wednesday afternoon, we are sure that he will meet with a resistance, that neither he nor his friends will be able to withstand. There is a feeling awake that cannot be mistaken. We predict, that if Thompson makes his appearance in Julien Hall, on Wednesday afternoon, he will be roughly treated by the emissaries of Judge Lynch. If he drives our citizens to acts of violence, let the blame be on his own head."

What sentiments to appear in the columns of a respectable newspaper—to go abroad amongst men, and be adopted by them as their incentives to action. We were filled with sorrow and astonishment when this article appeared—we read it now with shame.

Before the meeting was held in Washington street, an infamous handbill was circulated, calculated to excite any and every outrage. A curse rests upon the head of the man who issued it. We know not whence it came—but a reward—a great reward—should have been offered by the city government, for the wretch who gave it publicity.

It was copied with a prelude indirectly approving of it, in one of the daily papers. Upon this we make no comment.

The riot took place—and the next morning the following appeared in one of the morning papers.

"Yesterday afternoon, our peaceable and quiet city was a scene of tumult and confusion, such as we have not witnessed for many a long year.

"In the course of half an hour there were as many as two or three thousand citizens peaceably congregated. In the meantime, the cry arose of 'down with the sign'—and in a very short time the sign, containing the simple words of 'Anti-Slavery Society,' was quietly taken down, and torn into a thousand pieces by the enraged multitude. It will not do for them to brow-beat public opinion in this way; it cannot, nor it will not come to good. This community will no longer tolerate such rascally conduct."

Contrast the expressions "tumult and commotion"—"peaceably congregated"—"enraged multitude"—and see their consistency—and argue then from the feelings of the writer. He goes on—

"In the confusion which took place yesterday, a number of persons, who resembled in their personal appearance, Thompson and Garrison, were severely beaten by the gentlemen assembled. After the mistake was ascertained, the necessary explanations and apologies took place."

"Explanations and apologies" for kicks and bruises!—Ha! Another daily says—

"We consider the whole transaction as the triumph of the law over lawless violence, and the love of order, over an attempt to produce riot and confusion."

The doings of the rioters were an admirable illustration of this doctrine. A sign split in pieces—books and pamphlets destroyed—several men severely beaten through mistake—another seized and a rope tied round his neck, amid cries of "To Frog Pond with him! Tar and feather him!" and lastly the carriage in which, it is conceded, he was saved from violence, assaulted. This is "the triumph of the law."

The following is from the Mercantile Journal:—"The present excited state of the community shows that public opinion is decidedly opposed to the measures which are adopted by the abolitionists. This being the case, it becomes the duty of those, in whose hands the public authorities of a city or town are vested, to prevent such meetings by the strong arm of the law."

"If the magistrates have not the power to forbid and prevent assemblages of men or women, of a nature, which, according to all human probability, will lead directly to a disturbance of the public peace—and perhaps to the commission of atrocities, at which humanity would blush, the laws of our country are indeed imperfect, and should be amended with all possible despatch. If the magistrates have that power, and we cannot doubt that they have it, they ought to exercise it to prevent the assemblage of such meetings, and thus save the community from the disgrace of witnessing the acts of men, who, the victims of a morbid excitement, rashly assume the functions of the judge and the executioner."

The editor of the paper above quoted is a man whom we highly esteem, and deem worthy of honor as a conductor of the press. He was opposed to the mob throughout, and his remarks show that he consulted the best good of the community. But we wish to ask him, whether the views he has taken of the power of the law were sufficiently examined by himself before he penned them. Is he aware to what an extent such a coercive system as he recommends might be carried? If every meeting that "disturbs public peace" is to be put down—where is the security for any opinion? Who is to be the judge of these disturbances? Suppose the public morals were utterly depraved, and philanthropic, moral, praiseworthy sentiments should excite disturbances. Are they to be put down? The teachings of Christ disturbed the public peace—should he have been put down by the law?

We have thus commented on the most important articles in the newspapers upon the subject of the riot. We have spoken freely—for it is our firm conviction that the times require every honest man to oppose, boldly, the spirit fast gaining ground, that the best way to obtain justice is by a mob. We tremble for the future when we think of what has of late happened in every quarter of our country. The law seems to have lost its power. It is at least dormant. Let us call the attention of our citizens to the riots in our land—and the little jurisdiction the law has exercised over the offenders, and ask them—is there not cause to fear? If there be anything which may well make every patriot stand aghast—it is the prevalence of the power of mobs!

LITERARY.

Poetical Character of the Bible.

HAD the Bible been without its poetical character, we should have wanted the voice of an angel to recommend it to mankind. Prone as we are to neglect this banquet upon which the most exalted mind may freely and fully feast, we should then have regarded it with ten fold disdain. But such is the unlimited goodness of Him who knew from the beginning what was in the heart of man, that not only the wide creation is so designed as to accord with our views of what is magnificent and beautiful, and thus to remind us of his glory; but even the record of his immediate dealing with his rational and responsible creatures, is so filled with the true melody of language, as to harmonize with all our most tender, refined, and elevated thoughts. With our established ideas of beauty and grace and pathos and sublimity, either concentrated in the minutest point, or extended to the widest range, we can derive from the Scriptures a fund of gratification not to be found in any other memorial of past or present time. From the worm that grovels in the dust beneath our feet, to the track of the leviathan in the foaming deep—from the moth that corrupts the secret treasure, to the eagle that soars above his cry in the clouds—from the wild ass of the desert, to the lamb within the shepherd's fold—from the consuming locust, to the cattle upon a thousand hills—from the rose of Sharon to the cedar of Lebanon—from the crystal stream gushing forth out of the flinty rock, to the wide waters of the deluge—from the barren waste, to the fruitful vineyard, and the land flowing with milk and honey—from the lonely path of the wanderer, to the gathering of the mighty multitude—from the tear that falls in secret to the din of battle, and the shout of a triumphant host—from the solitary in the wilderness, to the satrap on his throne—from the mourner clad in sackcloth, to the prince in purple robes—from the gnawings of the worm that never dies, to the seraphic visions of the blest—from still small voice, to the thunders of Omnipotence—from the depths of hell, to the regions of eternal glory, there is no degree of beauty or deformity, no tendency to good or evil, no shade of darkness or gleam of light, which does not come within the cognizance of the Holy Scriptures; and therefore, there is no impression

or conception of the mind, that may not find a corresponding picture—no thirst for excellence that may not meet with its full supply, and no condition of humanity necessarily excluded from the unlimited scope of adaptation to sympathy comprehended in the language and spirit of the Holy Bible. How gracious, then—how wonderful and harmonious—is that majestic plan, by which one ethereal principle, like an electric chain of light and life, extends through the very elements of our existence, giving music to language, elevation to thought, vitality to feeling, and intensity and power and beauty and happiness, to the exercise of every faculty of the soul.

The Narratives of the New Testament.

BY ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.

But, as yet, we have not called the attention of the reader to the ultimate design of these narratives. We have, indeed, noticed that their immediate design is to convince the reader that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah, the Son of God—and that this object is subordinate to another design, viz. that THE READER MIGHT, THROUGH THIS CONVICTION, ENJOY EVERLASTING LIFE.

Reader! This is the glorious end of these sacred histories. On these pages is inscribed the most astonishing narrative ever read; the sublimest and simplest story ever told. But this is not all. It is designed to accomplish an object superlatively grand, transcending in degrees inexpressible—the most magnificent scheme that created intelligence ever conceived. To convert a race of polluted, miserable, and dying mortals, into pure, happy, and glorious immortals; to convert the gates of death into the gates of immortality; to make the pathway to rottenness and corruption, a high road to deathless vigor and incorruptible glory; to make the grave the vestibule, the antechamber, to a "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens"; to make the dying groans of sin-worn nature a prelude to ecstasies unalloyed. Yes, this is the benevolent and glorious design of these Testimonies. Books, written with such a design, and adorned for the society of principles and powers, for the society of their God and King, in a world of perfect bliss, most assuredly come with a divine character to man. Their claims on the attention and examination of those to whom they are presented, must certainly be paramount to all others. And the bare hypothesis, to say nothing of the moral certainty, that they came from God, with such a rational nature, to constrain all our moral powers, to test their high pretensions to a character so philanthropic and divine.

On such a theme, who would not wish to be eloquent! But how can we equal in style a subject which, when but faintly and in prospective view, exhausted the sublimest strains of heaven-taught prophets, and of poets fired with God's own inspiration—whose hallowed lips tasted not the fabled springs of Pagan muses, but the fountain of living waters springing from eternal love! Yet even these failed to list its praise. Nay, the brightest scorch that burns in heavenly light, fails in his best effort, and in profound thought, pores upon the marvellous theme. The compassion of the eternal God, the benevolence and philanthropy of the Father of the whole family in heaven and in earth towards us, the fallen children of his love, has transcended the loftiest grasp of the highest intelligence, and has made to falter the most expressive tongue in all the ranks of heavenly powers. In all the rapturous flights of these morning stars of creation, in all the ecstatic exclamations of these elder sons of God, the theme has not been reached; and though they have tuned their harps a thousand times, and swelled their voices in full chorus in countless efforts, yet the theme is still unequalled, and as it were, untouched. Vain, then, would be the attempt, and fruitless every effort, to express, in corresponding terms, a subject so divine. Indeed, we have no language, we have not been taught an alphabet adapted to such a theme.

"Come, then, expressive silence, muse its praise!"

Sentiments of Jefferson—in 1782.

THE commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions; the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other.

With what execration should the statesman be loaded, who, permitting one half the citizens to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots and these into enemies; destroys the morals of the one part, and the *amor patriæ* of the other! And can the liberties of the nation be thought secure, when we have refused the only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God—that they are not to be violated without his wrath?—Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever; that, considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution in the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events; that it may become probable by a supernatural interference. The Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with us in such a contest.

In 1814, he wrote thus:—My sentiments on the subject of the slavery of the negroes have long been in possession of the public, and time has only given them stronger root. Yet the hour of emancipation is advancing in the march of time. It will come; and whether brought on by the generous energy of our own minds or by the bloody process of St. Domingo, is a leaf of our history not yet turned over.

Sentiments of Patrick Henry.

Is it not amazing, that at a time when the rights of humanity are defined with precision, in a country above all others fond of liberty—that in such an age, and in such a country, we find men professing a religion the most humane and gentle, adopting a principle as repugnant to humanity, as it is inconsistent with the Bible, and destructive to liberty. Believe me, I honor the Quakers for their noble efforts to abolish slavery. Every thinking honest man rejects it in speculation; yet how few in practice, from conscientious motives. Would any man believe that I am master of slaves of my own purchase? I am drawn along by the general inconvenience of living without them. I will not, I cannot justify it. For however culpable my conduct, I will so far pay my debt to virtue; as to own the excellence and rectitude of her precepts; and to lament my own want of conformity to them.

Sentiments of Mr. Wirt.

SLAVERY is contrary to the laws of nature and of nations; and the laws of South Carolina concerning seizing colored seamen, is unconstitutional. That slavery is an evil, and a transcendent evil, it would be more than idle for any human being to doubt or deny. It is a mildew which has lighted every region it has touched, from the creation.

Innocence.

INNOCENCE, in its crude simplicity, has some advantages over the most dexterous and practised guilt. Equivocal appearances may accidentally attend it in its progress through the world; but the very scrutiny which these appearances will excite, operates in favor of Innocence, which is secure the moment it is discovered. But guilt is a poor, helpless, dependent being. Without the alliance of able, diligent, and fortunate fraud, it is inevitably undone. If the guilty culprit be obstinately silent, his silence forms a deadly presumption against him. If he speaks, talking tends to discovery; and his very defence furnishes materials towards his conviction.—Junius.

Truth.

WE are bound to speak truth to our neighbor; for the use and application of speech imply a tacit promise of truth, speech having been given us for no other purpose. It is not a compact between one private and another; it is a common compact of mankind in general, and a kind of right of nations, or rather a law of nature. Whoever tells an untruth violates this law and compact.—Nicolle.

Time.

Time was, is past; thou canst not it recall: Time is, thou hast; employ the portion small: Time future is not; and may never be: Time present! is the only time for thee.